



A HISTORY  
OF THE  
PERSIAN LANGUAGE



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PERSIAN LANGUAGE

*Vol II*

by

Prof. P.N. Khanlari

*Translated by*

N.H. Ansari

*Reader in Persian*

*University of Delhi*



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## TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

The Second Volume of *Tārīkh-e Zabān-e Fārsi* or *A History of the Persian Language* deals basically with the evolution of Dari Persian from the earliest times to the seventh century A.H. (thirteenth century A.D.). Thus, it is the most important volume in the series of the four volumes published so far by the distinguished academician of Iran, Professor Parviz Natel Khanlari who is still engaged on the work and may bring out further volumes in the series. This volume is, however, inevitable for all the scholars and researchers of Modern Persian i.e., the Persian that has remained the literary language of Iran after the advent of Islam.

The system of transliteration followed in this work, is the same as adopted by the learned author. It varies to some extent with that followed generally by the Indian scholars, especially in respect of the vowels. As a translator, it was my duty to stick to the original plan as far as possible. So *Kasre* and *Zamme* have been indicated with *e* and *o* respectively. Similarly, the silent *h* has not been indicated at all and words ending on *h* conclude with *e* in the transliteration according to the Tehran pronunciation. A deviation has been made in respect of *z* with three dots, which has been shown with *zh* instead of the marked *z* due to printing problems.

Whatever has been added in the translation, has been generally put in the brackets.

I am very grateful to Prof Khanlari for kindly permitting me to translate this monumental work into English. The initiative was actually provided by my esteemed friend Mr. A.A. Saidi, Deputy-Director, *Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran* whose constant encouragement and guidance has helped me immensely in completing this work.

N.H. Ansari

Delhi

8th March, 1977



## AUTHOR'S PREFACE

Originally I had planned to devote the Second Volume of *Tārīkh-e Zabān-e Fārsi* or *A History of the Persian Language* entirely to the grammatical and linguistic characteristics of Dari Persian as found in the First Period designated as the Period of Genesis and Growth which comes down up to the seventh century A.H. (thirteenth century A.D.). But when I started arranging my notes I found it necessary to refer to the links of Dari Persian with the Middle and Old Persian. Consequently, I devoted the first two chapters to the evolution of Persian from its early two stages. This chapterisation is, however, not final and in a subsequent edition the first two chapters may be transferred to the first volume.

The present volume does not discuss all the points regarding Dari Persian of the First Period as I had planned originally. These points were too elaborate to be contained in an average volume like this and so they will be discussed in one or more subsequent volumes. The division of volumes may be re-arranged more logically when the entire project is completed.

A few chapters of this volume were first published in the journal *Sokhan* (Tehran). The chapter entitled *Verb Structure* was brought out twice in a book form, *Bakhshi az jedd-e dovvom-e Tārīkh-e Zabān-e Fārsi*. But now all these chapters have been thoroughly revised and elaborated.

I acknowledge with gratefulness the suggestions made by some of my learned friends and colleagues working in the Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran. I am also thankful to Dr Mohsen Abol Gasemi and Dr Ahmad Tafazzoli of the University of Tehran for their valuable suggestions in the first two chapters of the present work. The Persian Grammar Research Group, forming a section of the Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran, assisted me in collecting the examples and verifying the sources, for which I am thankful to the members of the group.

I have been working on this project for about twenty years. I am sure that when it is satisfactorily completed it will serve as a basic source for any research about the 1000 years old history of Persian language.

Parviz Natel Khanlari

Shahrivar, 1352

(August-September, 1973)

## System of Transliteration

### Vowels

Short	long
zabar = a	ā
zīr = e	ī
pīsh = o	ū
Yā-e majhūl = è	
Vāve-e majhūl = ò	

### Diphthongs

ou	ei
----	----

### Consonants

b = ب	s = س
p = پ	c = چ
t = ت	g = گ
θ = ث	f = ف
l = ل	k = ک
z = ز	q = ڧ
x = خ	v = ڻ
d = د	m = م
đ = ڏ	n = ن
r = ر	w = و (Old Persian)
z = ز	w = و (Middle Persian)
ž = ڇ	h = ه
s = س	r = ر

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# **BOOK I**



# 1

## New Iranian Languages

*Pahlavi, Farsi, Dari*



## **Pahlavi, Farsi, Dari**

The term 'New Iranian Languages' is applied to the languages that had been current in any part of the extensive land of Iran after the Arab invasion and which have been referred to in the earlier records or the specimens of which have come down to us. But the term, as explained on p. 200, vol. I of this work, implies more the structure of the languages and dialects than their mere historical aspects. However, the structure of the New Iranian languages excepting Sogdian, Khwārazmi, Khotani and a few others, generally conforms with their historical development.

As we know the Iranian languages, during the ancient and medieval periods, consisted of numerous dialects, but only a few of them are known to us. Among them, too, the written records are found in such dialects only that had assumed the position of the administrative, official or religious language on account of some political or social reasons.

Among the Old Iranian languages the Avestan, which was most probably a language of eastern Iran, became the religious language of the Zoroastrians and retained its status for several centuries to come among the priests and followers of this religion. On the other hand, Old Persian, a language of south-western Iran served as the official language of the Achaemenian rulers who used it in their rock inscriptions.

Among the Middle Iranian languages, Pahlavānīk (north-western Pahlavi) was recognised as the official language of the Ashkanians (Parthians), probably from the middle of their reign. The early Sasanian emperors, though they had their origin in South-West Iran, used this language along with their current dialect in the memorial rock inscriptions left by them. Later on, the language of the south-western Iran, designated as Pārsik by us, became the official and administrative language of the Sasanians, and eventually in the course of 400 years of their rule it replaced other Iranian dialects both in the east and west.

The expansion of the Sasanian rule to the east of Iran and the establishment of the Persian military garrison in that area, combined with the popularity of Zoroastrianism as the official religion, most probably extended the official language Pārsik or the south-western Pahlavi to eastern Iran and brought it in direct confrontation with the north-western languages such as Pahlavānik and others. Towards the end of the Sasanian empire Pārsik or south-western Pahlavi was accepted as the substitute of Pahlavānik or the local language by all the classes of east Iranian society.

Thus we see that during the long history of the Iranian empire there has been an official language in each period that dominated the numerous local dialects. In other words, there has always been a court (*Dari*) language in Iran, and the post-Islamic *Dari* Persian is the final stage of its development.

Some of the Muslim historians, while describing the pre-Islamic Iranian languages, regard Pahlavi, Fārsi and Dari as three different languages or dialects. For instance, Hamze b. al-Hasan Isfahāni gives the following descriptions :

“Fahlavi or Pahlavi is the language in which the kings conversed in the royal court. This language is ascribed to Fahle which consists of the five Iranian cities, Isfahān, Ray, Hamadān, Māh-e-Nehāvand and Āzerbāijān.

“Fārsi is the language employed by the Zoroastrian priests and their associates in conversation. It is current in the cities of Fārs.

“Dari is the language of the cities of Madā'in (Ctesiphon) and of the royal courtiers. This word (*Dari*) is related to *Darbār* (royal court). From among the languages of eastern Iran, the Balkhi dominates the Dari vocabulary.”<sup>1</sup>

Hamze Isfahāni supplies this information on the authority of Zardosht b. Āzarkhore, better known as Mohammad Motavakkeli. Ibn Nadīm corroborates the above view on the authority of Ibn Moqaffa'.<sup>2</sup> Others, too, refer to the above two sources.

On the other hand, in most of the works containing an account of the post-Islamic Iranian languages, Fārsi and Dari are used as synonyms, completely identical in meaning, or Dari is added to Fārsi as an adjective meaning thereby pure and standard Persian. Motarrezi writes :

“Dari Persian is the standard one. It is ascribed to *dar* meaning royal court in Persian.”<sup>3</sup>

Ferdousi says,<sup>4</sup>

Befarmūd ta pārsī o dārī,  
Nabeṣtānd o kūtāh šod dāvārī.

(The king ordered to write it in Persian and[?] Dari, and thus the matter ended.)

It seems that the conjunction 'va' or *o* between *Pārsi* and *Dari* is a later addition. However, if we retain the above reading it may mean, 'the king ordered to write in Persian and particularly in Dari.'

Maqdesi in his *Ahsan al-Taqāsim* designates all the Iranian languages as *Fārsi* (Persian). It seems from his statement that he uses *Dari* to mean pure and standard and not a language different from Persian.<sup>5</sup>

Mas'ūdi while writing about the Egyptian language says that it has undergone changes in the manner of Pahlavi changing into Persian.<sup>6</sup> It is evident that Mas'ūdi regards Persian as the continuation of Pahlavi and not a different language.

Istakhari writes about the language of the people of Fārs,

"They use three languages : (a) Persian, the language of conversation spoken by all the people of Fārs and understood generally except a few alien words. (b) Fahlavi, the language of Zoroastrian scriptures and correspondence. It is not understood by the common man unless explained. (c) Arabic, this language is employed in the royal, official and general correspondence."<sup>7</sup>

It is quite probable that by *Persian* Istakhari meant Pārsīk or the south-western Pahlavi which was still used by the Zoroastrians of Fārs and in which *Dinkard* and *Bondahesh* were composed in the third century or the beginning of the fourth century Hijra. Some of the Persian records written in the Hebrew script and discovered recently were probably composed about this period in Fārs or Khūzestān, although they are undated. We shall see that these records are in a south-western dialect which differs from Persian so far as phonemic structure and scheme are concerned.

A careful study of the historical and geographical works of the Muslim authors explains clearly the nature and meaning of *Dari*. For instance, Maqdesi writes that the language of the people of Bokhārā is Dari... called so because it is used in royal correspondence and people's petitions submitted to kings. This word is derived from *dar* meaning royal court, and the language spoken in the royal court is called *Dari*.<sup>8</sup>

A tradition is reported from the Prophet of Islam saying, "The languages spoken by the people of paradise are Arabic and Dari Persian."<sup>9</sup> It is explained that the word *Dari* is an adjective meaning pure and standard.

A number of other sources while speaking of the various dialects of Iran spoken in different parts of the country generally add that they know Persian (*Fārsi*) also or their language is Persian. For example, the author of *al-Masālek va al-Mamālek* writes about the people of Khūzestān, "They speak both Persian and Arabic,"<sup>10</sup> or "they mix Persian with Arabic."<sup>11</sup> Similarly, about the people of Makrān the above author explains that they speak both Persian and Makri.<sup>12</sup>

Maqdesi while writing of Arrān says that the Persian spoken by the people of Arrān is intelligible and in sounds it is similar to the Khorāsāni.<sup>13</sup> About the people of Kermān he informs us that they speak

Persian<sup>14</sup> which is intelligible and akin to the Khorāsāni.<sup>15</sup>

From these references which can be multiplied the following conclusions may be drawn :

1. Fārsi (Persian) is a general term almost equal to the Iranian language. As we know till recently most of the Arabic writers hardly used the word Iran or Irani and generally designated this "country as *Fārs* and its people as *Fors*. Yāqūt says, "The land of *Fārs* in the pre-Islamic times extended from the river Balkh to the borders of Āzerbāijān and Persian Armenia, extending to the Euphrates, Arabia, 'Omān, Makrān, Kabul and Tokhārestān. It is the most pleasant and moderate region of the world."<sup>16</sup>

Therefore, in most of the cases the word *Fārsi* used by the early historians and geographers is a general term consisting of all the Iranian dialects. This view is confirmed by the statement of Maqdesi quoted earlier and by Mas'ūdi who after describing the cities of Iran says, "All these regions constituted a single country ruled by one king, and the people of the entire area spoke one language. Their local dialects, however, differed from one another...as is evident from Pahlavi, Dari, Āzari and other Iranian dialects."<sup>17</sup>

The point is further supported by the fact that the Arabic verses containing Persian words such as those of Abu Novās are called *Fārsiyāt*.

The term *Fārsi*, however, conveys a special sense also, i.e. something pertaining to *Fārs*, a province of Iran. That is why Hamze Isfahāni, Istakhari and Khwārazmi regard *Fārsi* as the language of the Zoroastrian priests, pertaining to the province of *Fārs*.<sup>18</sup>

Ibn Kamāl Pāsha is aware of this difference when he says that the word *Fārsi* is sometimes used in general and at times it means a particular language.<sup>19</sup>

So the post-Islamic official and literary language of Iran is termed both as Dari Persian to distinguish it from other dialects of the country, and simply as Persian without the adjective *Dari*.

2. The term *Pahlavi* or *Fahlavi* has had different applications at different times. The word is no doubt derived from *Parathava*, a tribe of northern Iran that founded the Ashkanian dynasty. So the word *Pahlavi* was originally used to mean this dynasty or its language or script. Later on, as we are informed by the early Muslim historians, the term was applied only to a particular dialect of western Iran, that was also used in the Sasanian court. Ferdousi while describing the imprisonment of Khosrou Parvīz says that other prisoners were forbidden to talk to the fallen monarch :

Magar ānke goftār-e ū bešnavī  
agar fārsi gūyad ar pahlavī<sup>20</sup>

(No one should listen to him [Khosrou] whether he speaks Persian or Pahlavi.)

During the Islamic period the term *Pahlavi* was used in a wider sense. Firstly, it was used as an adjective by Ferdousi and other poets such as the Pahlavi dress, the Pahlavi coat of mail or the Pahlavi flag. Secondly, some Persian poets like Ferdousi, Farrokhi, Adīb Sāber and others occasionally designate Persian as Pahlavi. Thirdly, the entire dialect poetry of Iran existing generally in the form of quatrains is termed as *Pahlavi* or *Fahlavi*.

3. The word *Dari*, on the other hand, has more exact and clear meaning as against Fārsi or Pahlavi. According to all the Muslim historians, Dari which means 'pertaining to the court', is the particular language used at the Sasanian court. That is why the early independent or semi-independent dynasties established by the Iranians in the eastern part of Iran after throwing away the Arab yoke, recognised this dialect as the official language and used it for administrative and literary work.

We are told by Maqdesi that once he visited an old fire-temple of the Zoroastrians and asked them about the various names of God mentioned in their scriptures. They brought before him a book called Abesta (Avesta) and told him that it was revealed to Zardosht in their own language and was later on explained in Persian. Maqdesi further tells us that *Hormoz*, *Beshābandān* (*Imshāspandān*) and *Rastakhīz* are the names of God in Zoroastrian language and their Dari equivalents are *Khodāy*, *Khodāvand* and *Khodāygān*.<sup>21</sup>

It seems from the above statement that by *Persian* Maqdesi means the language used by the Zoroastrians of Fārs and written in their scriptures (which is now called Pahlavi), and by *Dari* he means the official and literary language of the post-Islamic Iran which is current upto now.

It would be, therefore, fallacious to think that the official language of Iran became obsolete after the fall of the Sasanian empire and a new language established itself in its place. In other words, the official language always maintained its continuity and never suffered any periodic break during the pre-Islamic or post-Islamic times.

But why Dari Persian was ascribed to Khorāsān and why it developed in that part of the country after the Arab conquest may be answered in the following paragraphs.

After the Sasanian capital Ctesiphon fell to the Arabs, Yazdgerd retreated into the interior of Iran along with his soldiers and nobles, and after his subsequent defeat at Nehāvand he took refuge in South Iran. From Istakhar (Shīrāz) he marched to Kermān and then proceeded to Kohestān finally halting at Merv. According to the historical records, the defeated monarch travelled with full royal paraphernalia. It is said that even the royal library moved along with the emperor and we hear of it a century or so afterwards.<sup>22</sup> After Yazdgerd was killed, his courtiers and generals settled down in that part of the country because they could not go to western Iran which had gone under complete Arab control.

Afterwards, when the Arab army proceeded to the east and conquered that region it conscripted a large number of Iranians who helped their Arab masters in their eastern and north-eastern campaigns. Thus the linguistic tradition of the Sasanian court was carried deep into the eastern Iran.

In addition to this, the local rulers and administrators while corresponding with the Sasanian court naturally used the official language Dari and were familiar with it. After the Arab conquest this language was seldom used in the western and southern regions of Iran and was more in use in the eastern and north-eastern parts which were far from the centre of the Caliphate and where the Sasanian nobles and generals had settled. That is why as soon as the Iranians established their independent or semi-independent government in this region, they adopted the official language of the Sasanians as the language of administration. Later on, it developed into a scientific and literary language and replaced other local dialects.

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4. *Shāh-Nāme*, Moscow, vol. VIII, p. 254.
5. *Ahsan al-Taqāsīm*, Leiden, p. 259.
6. *Morūj al-Dahab*, Paris, vol. II, p. 414.
7. *Al-Masālek va al-Mamālek*, ed. du Ghoy, p. 137.
8. *Ahsan al-Taqāsīm*, p. 325.
9. *Al-Lu'lu' al-Marsū' fīnā Qil Lā Asl Lah*, Cairo, p. 62.
10. *Al-Masālek*, p. 91,
11. ibid., p. 177.
12. ibid., p. 167.
13. *Ahsan al-Taqāsīm*, p. 418.
14. ibid., p. 378.
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*Other New Iranian Dialects*



## Other New Iranian Dialects

The Muslim historians and geographers refer to some other new Iranian dialects in addition to Dari Persian which has been the official and administrative language of Iran, and the southern Pahlavi (Pārsīk) that remained the religious language of the Zoroastrians for three to four centuries after the Muslim conquest. These dialects were spoken in different parts of the vast land of Iran and some of them are known to us through the specimens, short or long, given by some of the authors.

These works, composed between the end of the third century and the tenth century A.H. (ninth to sixteenth century A.D.), refer to more than forty Iranian dialects, a list of which is given below:

1. *Arrāni* : According to Istakhari and Maqdesi it was the dialect of Arrān and Barda' in Caucasus. The latter says, "In Arrān they speak Arrāni. Their Persian is intelligible and is similar to the Khorāsāni in sounds."<sup>1</sup>

2. *Marāghi* : Hamdollāh Mostoufi writes, "The district of Marāghe consists of four towns, Marāghe, Basūy(?), Khwāreqān and Leilān... The people of the region are fair and Turk-like...Their language is changed Pahlavi."<sup>2</sup>

In another manuscript of the work there is *Mo'arrab* instead of *Moghayyar*, but the correct reading seems to be *Maghreb*, which means that they speak western Pahlavi. Most of the Muslim writers designate all the Iranian dialects other than Dari as Pahlavi or Fahlavi.

3. *Hamadāni and Zanjāni* : The information that Maqdesi provides about this dialect is contained in two words only.<sup>3</sup> Shams Qeis Rāzi, while discussing the metre of the Fahlavīyat quotes a quatrain in the dialect of Hamadān and Zanjān.<sup>4</sup> Hamdollāh Mostoufi tells us about the people of Zanjān that they speak straight Pahlavi.<sup>5</sup>

4. *Kurdish* : Yāqūt quotes a bilingual *qasīde* from a Kurd poet

Nūshīrvān Baghdādi known as the Satan of Iraq.<sup>6</sup>

5. *Khūzi* : According to the statement of Hamze Isfahāni and Ibn Nadīm, Khūzi was one of the popular dialects of the Sasanian period<sup>7</sup> spoken by the people of Khūzestān. Istakhari writes about this dialect, "The people (of Khūzestān) in general speak Persian and Arabic. They also speak an additional language which is entirely different from Hebrew, Syriac and Persian."<sup>8</sup>

Apparently the above statement refers to the local dialect of Khūzestān. But the statement of Maqdesi leads us to believe that he refers to Persian and not a local dialect as the language of Khūzestān.<sup>9</sup>

6. *Deilami\** : Istakhari states about the language of the people of Deilam, "Their language is unique, being totally different from Arabic and Persian."<sup>10</sup> According to Maqdesi the language spoken in the country of Deilam is quite different and difficult.<sup>11</sup>

7. *Gīlī or Gīlāni* : It was apparently a dialect different from the Deilami. Istakhari tells us, "A part of Gilān (Jīl), so far as I know, is inhabited by a people whose language is different from that spoken in Jīl and Deilam."<sup>12</sup> Maqdesi adds that "the people of Gilān use the letter *Kha* or *ha*".<sup>13</sup>

8. *Tabari or Māzandarāni* : The Tabari dialect is said to have had considerable literature. As we know *Marzbān-Nāme* was originally composed in the Tabari dialect and afterwards it was translated into Persian. We are told by Ibn Isfandyār that Ispahbod Marzbān b. Rostam, the author of *Marzbān-Nāme* had also compiled his verses in the Tabari under the title of *Niki-Nāme*.<sup>14</sup>

The author of *Qābūs-Nāme* also quotes his two verses in the Tabari dialect.<sup>15</sup> Ibn Isfandyār mentions some poets of Māzandarān and gives specimens of their poetry. Other poetic specimens are to be found in the *Tārikh-e-Rūjān* by Auleya Allāh Āmolī.<sup>16</sup>

Recently a few manuscripts were discovered containing the Tabari translation of Arabic literature, and an explanatory translation of the Qur'ān in that dialect, which leads us to believe that this dialect had rich literature in the early post-Islamic period. Bernhard Dorn, the Russian orientalist discovered a collection of Tabari quatrains known as *Amīri* and ascribed to a poet Amīr Pāzvāri. He published the quatrains with their Persian translation under the title of *Kanz al-Asrār* from St. Petersburg.<sup>17</sup>

We are informed by Maqdesi that the language of Tabarestān is similar to that spoken in Qūmes and Jorjān with the difference that the former seems to be spoken in a hurry.<sup>18</sup>

9. *Goshtāsi* : This dialect was spoken in Caucasus in the region lying between the rivers Aras and Kur and the adjoining Caspian Sea.

\* Deilam consisted of the coastal provinces of the present Gilān, Māzandarān, Gorgān and the neighbouring cities in the south.

Hamdollāh Mostoufi informs us that the people of this region speak Pahlavi which seems to be close to the Gilānī.<sup>19</sup>

10. *The dialects of Qūmes and Jorjān (Gorgān)* : Maqdesi says that the dialects of Qūmes and Jorjān are akin...and there is sweetness about them.<sup>20</sup>

11. *Rāzi* : We are told by Maqdesi that the people of Jebāl\* speak several dialects. So far as Rey is concerned they start many words with *ra* such as *rāde* and *rāken*.<sup>21</sup> Some more information is available about this dialect in other works. The author of *al-Mo'jam* has quoted a few verses in this dialect from a poet called Bendār Rāzi.<sup>22</sup>

12. *Rāmhormozī\*\** : The only information about this dialect is provided by Maqdesi who says that it is not easily understood.<sup>23</sup>

13. *Fārsi* : Istakhari tells us that one of the three languages current in the province of Fārs is Persian (Fārsi). This language is spoken by all the people of this province and is generally understood excepting a few strange words.<sup>24</sup>

14. *Pahlavi or Fahlavi* : According to the statement of Istakhari the people of 'Ajām, i.e. the non-Muslim Iranians or Zoroastrians wrote and corresponded in Pahlavi which was not understood by the common man unless explained.<sup>25</sup> It seems that by *Pahlavi* Istakhari means the same language which was in vogue in Fārs from the close of the third century to the beginning of the fourth century A.H. (ninth or tenth century A.D.) and in which language *Dīnkard*, *Bondahesh* and some other Zoroastrian religious books were composed.

15. *Kermāni* : We are informed by Maqdesi that the language used by the people of Kermān is intelligible and close to the Khorāsāni.<sup>26</sup> Istakhari adds to it that the Kermāni language is the same as Persian.<sup>27</sup>

16. *Makri* : The people of Makrān spoke both Persian and Makri according to Istakhari.<sup>27a</sup> Maqdesi, however, criticises it as a barbarous language.<sup>28</sup>

17. *Balūchi* : We are told by Istakhari that the Balūchs and the people of Bārz speak one more language in addition to Persian.<sup>29</sup>

18. *Kūchi or Qofsi* : The tribe of Kūch or Qofs is generally mentioned along with the Balūch. As stated by Istakhari the tribe had its own dialect, known as Qofsi, in addition to Persian.<sup>30</sup> Maqdesi adds that the dialect spoken by the tribes of Kūch and Balūch is beyond our grasp and is similar to Sindhi.<sup>31</sup>

19. *Neshāpūri* : We are informed by Maqdesi that the language

\* Jebāl, also known as 'Irāq-e-'Ajām is the region stretching from Rey (Tehran) to Hamadān and consisting, in addition to the above two cities, of Qom, Qazvīn, Sāvē, Nehāvand, Isfahān, etc.

\*\* Ramhormoz is a town to the east of Ahvāz.

spoken in Neshāpūr is standard and intelligible. But they generally suffix a long *i* after the starting letter such as *bīgu* (say), *bīshou* (go). They also insert unnecessary *s* in verbs as *begoftasti*, *bexoftasti*, etc. Maqdesi adds that in this dialect words are dragged and drawn and it seems suitable for making a request.<sup>32</sup>

20. *Heravi*: Mas‘ūdi says, “Bahrām knew all the languages. He spoke Arabic in anger, Turkish in war, Dari in the court and Heravi with the ladies.”<sup>33</sup>

Maqdesi is, however, very critical of this dialect and says that no other language in the world is more barbarous than Heravi, and it is good to be used only in a stable.<sup>34</sup>

21. *Bokhāri*: We are told by Istakhari that the Bokhāri had little difference with the Sogdian though the people of Bokhārā knew Dari as well.<sup>35</sup> Maqdesi says that the people of Bokhārā are fond of repetition. For instance, they would say

‘Yaki mardi dīdam (I saw a man.)

‘Yaki adrami dādam (I gave a derham.)

They also use in vain the word *dānesti* (as you know) in their conversation. The language they speak is Dari which is derived from *dar* (court) because it is used in the royal court. Royal correspondence and people's petitions are always written in this language.<sup>36</sup>

22. *Mervi*: Maqdesi is of the view that phonetically Mervi is a hard dialect and the end of a word is generally dragged and drawn. For instance, the Neshāpūris would say ‘barā-e-īn’ (for this) but the people of Merv would say ‘batrā-e-īn’ adding a letter to the first word. Such examples can be easily multiplied.<sup>36a</sup> He adds that the Mervi seems to be the language of ministers.

Yāqūt while writing of *Māshān*, the name of a canal, says that the word is pronounced as *Mājān* by the people of Merv.<sup>37</sup>

23. *Khwārazmi*: Istakhari tells us that the language of Khwārazm is entirely different and is not to be found in any city of Khorāsān.<sup>38</sup> Yāqūt supplies us a word of the Khwārazmi dialect while describing the town Nauz Kāth. He says that Nauz Kāth is a small town near Jorjāneye (Khwārazm), *Nauz* meaning new in Khwārazmi. The town is called so in order to distinguish it from another town called Kāth.<sup>39</sup>

Avicenna in his treatise *Makhārej al-Horūf* speaks of a sibilant *s*, the sound of which is mixed with *z*. He says that this sound is a peculiarity of the Khwārazmi dialect.<sup>40</sup>

24. *Samarqandi*: We are told by Maqdesi that the people of Samārqand use a sound in between *k* and *q*...He adds that there is, however, a coldness about this language.<sup>41</sup>

25. *Sogdian*: The people of Sogd (Sogdiana), according to Maqdesi, speak a language which seems to be akin to the dialects spoken in the

villages of Bokhārā, yet it is entirely different. They, however, understand one another.<sup>42</sup>

26. *The dialect of Bāmeyān and Tokhārestān* : As reported by Maqdesi, this dialect is similar to the Balkhi, but it is difficult and complex.<sup>43</sup>

27. *Balkhi* : Maqdesi regards the Balkhi as the most beautiful language of the world and very appropriate for conveying a message although it contains some derogatory words.<sup>43a</sup>

28. *Jūzjāni* : According to Maqdesi this dialect is the middle stage between the Mervi and the Balkhi.<sup>43b</sup>

29. *Bostī* : Maqdesi simply says that Bostī is a beautiful dialect.<sup>43c</sup>

30. *The dialect of Tūs and Nasā* : It is similar to the Neshāpūri.<sup>43d</sup>

31. *Sajestāni* : Maqdesi informs us that the dialect of Sīstān is good for war because it smacks of quarrel and enmity. It is spoken loudly and its speaker seems to be growling.<sup>43e</sup>

32. *Ghōri* : Ghōri is probably identical with Pushto, but in any case different from Dari. Beīhaqi says, "The king sent a wise man as his messenger along with two men from Ghōr...in order to interpret him."<sup>44</sup>

33. *The language of Chāch or Shāsh* : According to Maqdesi it has been the finest language of Heital (Transoxiana). But we are unable to say how it was related to the Iranian languages.<sup>45</sup>

34. *Qazvīni* : The only point mentioned about the Qazvīni dialect is that there is much use of *q*. They say 'bakh' to mean well done.<sup>46</sup>

35. *The country dialects of Khorāsān* : We are informed by Maqdesi that almost each small town in Khorāsān and its dependent villages speak a different dialect.<sup>47</sup>

36. *Shīrāzi* : Thd *Golestān* of Sa'di contains a verse which bears the caption of *Turkīye*<sup>48</sup> in certain manuscripts but in others it is called *Shīrāziye*. At any rate the verse in question is akin to the local dialect of Shīrāz. Also the *Kolliyāt* of Sa'di contains a *mathnavi* (narrative poem) entitled *Mothallathāt* in mixed Persian, Arabic and Shīrāzi.<sup>49</sup> Hāfez has also left a *ghazal* which contains words of the Shīrāzi dialect.<sup>50</sup> Shāh Dā'i, a native of Shīrāz who lived not much after Hāfez, composed poetry in the Shīrāzi dialect.<sup>51</sup>

37. *Neirīzi\** : An anthology transcribed in the eighth century A.H. (fourteenth century A.D.) contains verses under the caption of *Neirīzīyāt*. These verses seem to be in the Neirīzī dialect. In the same manuscript certain other verses are quoted under the title of *Fahlavīyāt*, which are probably in the Shīrāzi dialect.<sup>52</sup>

38. *Isfahāni* : Auhadi Isfahāni has left a few *ghazals* in the local dialect of Isfahān. Specimens of this dialect are also found in the *Latā'ef* of 'Obeid Zākāni.<sup>53</sup>

39. *Āzari* : This dialect was current in Āzerbāijān to the end of the

\* Neirīz, a town 176 kilometres east of Shīrāz.

tenth century A.H. (sixteenth century A.D.). Ibn Houqal says that the people of Āzerbāijān speak Persian, by which he means an Iranian dialect. He also tells us how many Iranian dialects were current in the region.<sup>54</sup>

Mas‘ūdi, a writer of the fourth century A.H. (tenth century A.D.) gives the general name of Persian to all the Iranian dialects and places Āzari in the group of Pahlavi and Dari.<sup>55</sup> Yāqūt designates the language of Āzerbāijān as *Āzariye* or *Āzarbiye* and remarks that it is not understood by other people.<sup>56</sup>

‘Obeid Zākāni quotes in his *Mathnavi-e ‘Oshshāq-Nāme* a *ghazal* in the local dialect of Tabrīz composed by Homām Tabrīzī.<sup>57</sup> Shah Qāsem Anvār has also left a few *ghazals* in this dialect. Some chapters of a *Resāle* composed by Rūhi Anārjāni in the tenth century A.H. are in the Āzari dialect.<sup>58</sup>

40. *Ardabili* : In his *Safvat al-Safā*, Ibn Bazzaz quotes a few sentences from Sheikh Safiuddin Ardabili and says that they are in the Ardabili dialect. The above author also quotes a few quatrains of the Sheikh which are probably in the same dialect. It seems that the Ardabili was not much different from the Āzari spoken in Tabrīz and other cities of Āzerbāijān.<sup>59</sup>

It will be seen from the preceding pages that our knowledge of the Iranian dialects, current in the vast land of Iran during the early centuries, is very scanty and in most of the cases it is limited to the name of the dialect. Occasionally a line or a few short sentences are reported in the original dialect and very seldom its specimen extends to a page or so.

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6. *Mo‘jam al-Boldān*, vol. I, p. 188.
7. *Al-Tanbih*, p. 68.
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33. *Al-Tanbīh*, p. 78.
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40. *Makhārej al-Horūf*, p. 24.
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- 43b. *ibid.*
- 43c. *ibid.*
- 43d. *ibid.*
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46. *ibid.*, p. 298. The word is not clear in the printed text.
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*Contemporary Iranian Languages and Dialects*



## Contemporary Iranian Languages and Dialects

In the preceding pages a resumè was given of what has been said by the early Muslim writers about the various early Iranian dialects. But even today apart from Dari or New Persian, which has remained the administrative, official and cultural language of Iran from the fourth century A.H. (tenth century A.D.) onward, there exist a number of Iranian languages some of which have even written literature while others are spoken by a small or big group of people living in various parts of Iran. Most important of these languages and dialects are as follows :

1. *Tājīki* : Tājīki, the national language of the Soviet Republic of Tajekistan, differs with Dari Persian only in some vocabulary and phoneme. This language is also spoken in several parts of the Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan like the valleys of Farghānā and Zar Afshān, the regions lying in the course of the rivers Kashka, Surkhān, Chirchik, etc., and the cities of Samarqand and Bokhārā. The people of Kirghiz (Jalālābād and Osh) and Kazakh also use this language.

The Tājiks are originally Iranians living in that land from early times. During the long course of history they were dislodged gradually by the peoples of East Asia and are now found in small isolated pockets but they have preserved their Iranian traditions and language. Some other minorities such as the Jews, Gypsies and the Arabs of Central Asia also speak Tājīki. The number of the people speaking this language is estimated at 1,500,000.

Literary Tājīki has become somewhat different from Dari Persian because during the last few centuries there has been little official relation between Iran and the country of the Tājiks. The main area of difference lies in the loan-words which Tājīki has borrowed from the local dialects and from Tartar and Uzbek languages. Besides, as against Persian, the Tājīki has adopted many scientific and technical terms from Russian.

Certain grammatical characteristics also differentiate Tājīki from Persian, of which we shall speak later on in detail. However, the works of early Persian writers and poets, some of whom belonged to Tajekistan are easily understood by the present Tājiks and constitute an integral part of their cultural heritage.

After the Soviet Republic of Tajekistan came into being, Latin alphabets with a few modified letters were first adopted for the Tājīki but after some years they were replaced by the Russian alphabet which is the present script of the Tājīki.

Among the great contemporary Tājīki writers the most important is Sadroddīn 'Aini who is reckoned as the father of modern Tājīki literature. 'Aini is known as a novelist, story-writer, poet and scholar and has made considerable contribution to the various fields of literature. Here is reproduced a passage from his novel *Gholāmān* (The Slaves) published in 1935 in Latin script:

"Sahrā-e vasi", bayābān-e xošk, dar ān bayābān-e bīpāyān yeir az čāh-hā-e čoyūr manba'-e ābi nīst, ānhā ham dar masāfat-e yak farsax do farsax az yak dīgar dūrtar kande šode and. Xāna-hāe rīg-e ravān va geyāh-hā-e raga-e selang, śure, xārsotor, kūr, kavāre, yavaśn manzara-hāe tabī'i-e in bayābān and. Sakṣūlzārhā'i ke dar jā jā-e īn bayābān nomūdār and manzara-e maymūnāna-e bišahā-e sūxte rā be-nazar mī ārand."

(It is a vast dry desert. There is no source of water in this desert except the wells dug for this purpose, and they, too, are situated at a distance of one *farsakh* or so. Sand dunes and wild vegetation...are the only natural scenes of the desert. The forest destroyed in the jungle-fire is sadly reflected in the scattered...)

2. *Afghan Dari*: Both Dari and Pushto are the official languages of Afghanistan, the greater part of which had been the cradle of post-Islamic Persian literature. Afghanistan undoubtedly shares with Iran the rich cultural heritage bequeathed by our forefathers. What is called Dari in Afghanistan is actually the continuation of the same Dari Persian perfected by poets and writers like Rābe'e, Daqīqi, 'Onsori Balkhi, Sanā'i, Sayyed Hasan Ghaznavi, 'Abdol-Hay Gardīzi, Khwāje 'Abdollāh Ansāri, Nāser Khosrou and others.

Afghan Dari differs from the literary Persian partly in respect of some grammatical points and partly in the pronunciation of some phonemes. In the former case, Afghan Dari has been influenced by the local dialects but so far as the peculiar Afghan pronunciation is concerned, it is generally similar to that prevalent in eastern and north-eastern Iran. Afghan Dari has also borrowed a number of loan-words and idioms from the local dialects and as against Persian which relies on French, Afghan Dari

has adopted technical and scientific terms from English on account of the close relations existing between Afghanistan and India during the last few centuries. All this has created some variation between Dari and Persian vocabulary. However, with the ever-increasing cultural relations between our two sister-countries speaking the same language, following the same religion and coming down from the same Aryan stock, the difference will be narrowed by and by.

According to the latest census, people speaking Dari in Afghanistan number about 5,000,000 but others are equally familiar with this language. During the last few years the Afghans have adopted a number of administrative, scientific and technical terms like *pohanzai* (Faculty), *pohantūn* (University), *pohānd* (Professor), *pohanvāl* (Assistant Professor), etc., which seem to have their origin in Pushto. We reproduce here a passage in Afghan Dari taken from the *Adab*, the bimonthly journal of the Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences, Kabul University:

“Dar āyāz-e qarn-e bīstom falsafa ānqadr be-sor‘at inkeśāf kard ke mo‘arrexīn-e falsafa ān rā inqelāb dar falsafa mi-xvānand. Īn inqelāb dar englestān xāssa dar kambrej be-voqū‘ peivast. Va yaki az ānāni ke falsafa rā degargūn sāxtand Bertrand Russell būd. Ū hayāt-e‘aqlī-e xodrā dar mohītī āyāz kard ke dar ān do jaryān-e-falsafi vojūd dāst. Yaki falsafa-e ‘an‘anavi-e aslāf-e ū ke be-falsafa-e tajrībi yād mi-śavad, va dīgari idealism jarmani ke dar nīma-e qarn-e nūz dahom bar falsafa-e tajrībi tasallot yāft.”

(In the beginning of the twentieth century, philosophy made such a rapid progress that it was termed as revolution in philosophy by its historians. This revolution took place in England, especially in Cambridge. One of the philosophers who brought about this revolution was Bertrand Russell. He started his philosophical career in a society where two systems of philosophy existed, Traditional Philosophy which is also known as Experimental, and German Idealism which dominated Experimental Philosophy in the second half of the nineteenth century.)

3. *Kurdish*: The language of the people living in the mountainous region to the west of the Iranian plateau is generally called Kurdish. This region is now divided among three countries: Iran, Turkey and Iraq. But the Kurdish-speaking groups are also found in North Khorāsān, the Soviet Republics of Armenia, Georgia, Āzerbāijān and Turkomania. In Syria, too, the Kurds, settled during the last few centuries, form a minority.

The Kurdish language or dialect spoken in all these regions is, however, not one and the same. It is rather doubtful whether the word *Kurd* has ever been used for a group of people possessing common ethnical, tribal or linguistic characteristics. According to many historical sources

in Arabic, composed during the early Islamic centuries, the word *Kurd* means shepherd.

The language known as Kurdish consists of several dialects but so far no definite and conclusive research has been made regarding their structure and inter-relation. Usually it is divided into two basic groups:

- (a) Kūrmānji, again sub-divided into the following branches:
  - (i) Eastern or Mokri spoken in Soleimāniye and Sane.
  - (ii) Western, used in Deyārbakir, Rezāye, Eravān, Arzerūm, North Syria and North Khorāsān.
- (b) Southern Kurdish spoken in Kermānshāh and the Bakhteyāri region.

Oral and written literature in Kurdish dates from the fifth/sixth century A.H. onwards. A qaside in mixed Persian and Kurdish has been quoted in the *Mo'jam al-Boldān* (I/p. 186). It is ascribed to Anūshīrvān Baghdādi, known as the Satan of Iraq.

Kurdish is rich in oral literature, which has been collected in recent times by the European and Iranian scholars.

The Kurds of Iraq use the Perso-Arabic alphabets with some modification for their script. The Syrian Kurds use Latin alphabets whereas the Kurds living in the Soviet Union use the Russian alphabets. The number of people speaking various Kurdish dialects is estimated to be between six to eight million.

4. *Lori and Bakhteyāri*: The tribes of Bakhteyāri, Memesene and Boer Ahmadi living in the Bakhteyāri mountains and part of western Fārs speak dialects which seem to be similar to, but not entirely identical with, Kurdish. These dialects, generally grouped under Lori and Bakhteyāri, have their individual distinctive characteristics but no definite view can be expressed about their scope and structure.

5. *Baluchi*: Baluchi is considered to be a dialect of north-western Iran but from the dawn of history people speaking this dialect are found in eastern Iran. According to *Shāh-Nāme*, the Baluchs lived in the region now known as North Khorāsān but the early geographical works locate these people along with the Kūch (or Qofs) tribe in the Kermān region. Afterwards, due to some historical reasons the Baluchs migrated further south and settled on the coast of the Oman Sea. Now Baluchistan or the land of the Baluchs extends from south-eastern Iran to western Pakistan and in both countries a province is known as Baluchistan. But the Baluchs are also to be found in southern Afghanistan, south-western Punjab, Kermān, Lārestān, Sīstān and Khorāsān. Pressed by economic needs, many Baluchs migrated to Gorgān and the Soviet Republic of Turkomania.

Balūchi is divided into two groups:

- (a) Eastern or north-eastern.
- (b) Western or south-western.

The Balūchi-speaking people are estimated to be between 1,500,000 and 2,500,000 but these statistics are not definite.

6. *Pushto*: Pushto, also known as Afghani, is current in the southern and central regions of Afghanistan and part of north-western Pakistan. The Pushto-speaking people are also found in Baluchistan, Chitrāl, Kashmir and on the border of Iran and Afghanistan. The oldest Pushto work dates from the ninth/tenth century A.H. For centuries Pushto remained only a spoken language and little literary work was produced in it. It was about forty years ago that the Government of Afghanistan declared Pushto as the official language of the country with the result that it became the medium of instruction in schools, and books and journals were published in it.

Pushto differs from other Iranian languages in phonetic and grammatical aspects, which are out of the scope of this book. It is generally divided into two groups:

- (a) Western or south-western
- (b) Eastern or north-eastern

The dialects of Qandahār and Peshawar are important in the first and second groups, respectively, but they also differ in grammar and pronunciation of phonemes. For instance, the language is designated as Pukhto in the Qandahāri and Pushto in the Peshāwari dialect.

The new constitution of Afghanistan has recognized both Pushto and Dari as the official languages of the country. The number of people speaking Pushto in Afghanistan, Pakistan and other regions is estimated at 12,000,000 out of which about 5,500,000 live in Pakistan.

7. *Ossetic*: Ossetic is an Iranian language still current in some parts of the Caucasus. This language is spoken in the Soviet Republic of North Ossete and parts of Georgia known as South Ossete. It is divided into two basic dialects:

- (a) Eravāni
- (b) Dīgori

The former is more of literary type than the latter. Ossetic is considered to be a continuation of Old Sakae language. It is estimated that Ossetic is spoken by a little more than 40,000 people.

8. *Tāti*: Tāti is an Iranian dialect spoken in parts of the Soviet Republics of Āzerbāijan (north-east of the Apsheron Peninsula) and Dāghestān. It is also current in some villages of Iranian Āzerbāijān.

About 25,000 Jews living in Dāghestān from early times and known as "Mountain Jews" also speak it but their dialect varies with the general Tāti. The total number of people speaking Tāti as their mother-tongue and living in the Soviet Union is about 110,000.

9. *Tāleshi* : Tāleshi, an Iranian language, is spoken in the plateau of Lankorān, Soviet Āzerbāijān, the south-western coast of the Caspian Sea and on the borders of Iran and the Soviet Union. The total number of people speaking Tāleshi is estimated at 150,000 out of which about 100,000 live in the Soviet Union.

Tāleshi is one of the north-western Iranian languages which was current in Āzerbāijān upto the tenth century A.H. (sixteenth century A.D.). Later on, it was substituted by some Turkish dialect. Specimens of this language have come down to us in the form of quatrains pertaining to the eighth century A.H. and belonging to the Ardabīl region.

10. *Gīlaki*: Gīlaki is an Iranian dialect which has been prevalent in the region of Gīlān and Deilam and is still used as a mother-tongue by more than one million people living in the province of Gīlān, although most of them know Persian very well. The dialect is sub-divided into several branches which differ from one another. A poet Sharaf Shāh is said to have left some quatrains in Gīlaki, which are known as *Sharaf Shāhi*. In the present century some local poets such as Kasmā'i and others composed national and political songs in the Gīlaki.

11. *Tabari or Māzandarāni*: Tabari is an Iranian dialect still used in the province of Mazandarān, formerly known as Tabarestān, on the southern coast of the Caspian Sea. The dialect spoken in the urban area bears marked difference with that in the countryside in respect of pronunciation and vocabulary. The former seems to be deeply influenced by Persian, which is gradually replacing the local dialect.

Tabari was once known for its rich literature. The *Marzbān-Nāme* was first composed in this language and later on it was rendered into Dari Persian in the seventh century A.H. (thirteenth century A.D.). Tabari verses are found in *Qābūs-Nāme*, *Tārkīh-e Tabarestān* of Ibn Isfandyār and other Persian sources. A particular set of verses in this dialect, known as *Amīri*, is still recited by the people of Māzandarān who ascribe them to a poet Amir Pāzvāri, although in view of their linguistic characteristics it is difficult to believe that all these verses belong to the same poet or age.

The number of the Tabari-speaking community cannot be ascertained definitely, but at any rate it exceeds 1,000,000. Almost all of them know Persian, the official language of Iran.

Tabari and Gīlaki are grouped under the dialects of the Caspian Sea.

## Dialects of Central Iran

We come across several dialects in the scattered villages and small towns of Central Iran situated on the edge of the Great Desert. Each of these dialects is spoken generally by a small number of people, and is recognized by its individual features. Among these are:

12. *Dialects spoken between Kāshān and Isfahān* : These dialects are spoken in the villages of Venishūn, Qorūd, Keshe, Zafere, Sede, Gaz, Kafrūn, or in Mahallāt, Khwānsār and Jūshqān. Some research has been made about the above dialects.

13. *Yazdi* : This dialect is similar to that spoken by the Zoroastrians of Yazd and Kermān with some difference in pronunciation.

14. *Nā'eni and Anāraki* : This dialect is used in Nā'en and Anārak lying between Isfahān and Yazd.

15. *Netanzi (yārandi) and Farīzandi* : This dialect is spoken in the region lying north-west of Nā'en.

16. *Khori and Mehrjāni* : It is spoken in the villages of Khor and Mehrjān in the district of Bayābānak.

17. *Dialects of Semnan area* : They consist of the following dialects :

- (a) Semnāni
- (b) Lāsgardi
- (c) Sorkha'i
- (d) Sangsari
- (e) Shehmīrzādi.

18. *Dialects of Arāk area* : These dialects are spoken in Vafs, Āshteyān and Tafresh and are grouped under the dialects of Arāk area.

19. *Tākestāni* : This dialect is spoken in the south-west of Qazvin and the nearby Ishtehārd.

## Dialects of Fars

20. In spite of the fact that Persian is the general language of the entire province of Fārs, some villages have still retained their local dialects which do not have written literature and have never assumed the position of Dari Persian. For instance, Shamaghūn, Pāpūn, Māsarm, Būringūn and some other villages speak their own dialects which are grouped under the south-western dialects of Iran. But some other dialects belonging to the north-western Iranian groups are also spoken in this region such as the dialect of Sīvand, situated 50 kilometres north of Shiraz. It seems that this dialect retained itself as a result of large-scale immigration to this area.

A different dialect is spoken in the Bāshgerd region (south-east of the Persian Gulf), which is again sub-divided into two groups, Southern and Northern. It is differentiated from other Iranian dialects on account of its distinct characteristics.

### The Pamir Languages

There are still some Iranian languages spoken in the far-off Pamir region, north-east of Iran which is now divided among three countries, the Soviet Republic of Tajekistan, Afghanistan and China. Among these languages are :

21. *Shughni* : This dialect is spoken on either bank of the river Oxus and in the upper and lower region of Xordag.
22. *Rōshāni* on the either bank of the Oxus below Shughnān.
23. *Bertangi* in the Bertang Pass.
24. *Orshori* in the upper region of the river Bertang.
25. *Sarikoli* in the province of Sen Tsezian.
26. *Yazghulāmi* in the course of the Yazgulām, the right tributary of the Oxus.
27. *Ishkāshmi* in the course of the Oxus and the source of the Warduj river in Afghanistan.
28. *Wakhi* on the stretch of the Oxus and in Chitral, Jammu, Kashmir and Sen Tsezian.

These dialects are so much variant with one another that sometimes they are not intelligible and in such circumstances Tājīki is used for communication.

### Other Iranian Dialects

29. *Munji* is spoken by a small number of people living in Munjān by the source-head of the river Kokcha in north-eastern Afghanistan.

30. *Yaghnābi* spoken by the residents of the Yaghnāb Pass and some adjoining villages north of Doshanbe, the capital of Soviet Tajekistan. Yaghnābi is the only Iranian dialect which is regarded as the remnant of Sogdian. It is divided into eastern and western branches.

31. *Parāchi* : This dialect is spoken in some villages lying north of Kabul where three other languages, Pushto, Dari and Hindi are also used. All these people, however, know Dari (Tājīki) and use it for mutual communication.

32. *Ormuri* : It is spoken by a small group of people residing in the south of Kabul and some parts of Pakistan but the dialect is being gradually replaced by Pushto and Dari.

33. *Kūmzāri* : It is the only Iranian dialect remaining in the south

of the Persian Gulf or the northern-most point of the Oman Peninsula. A Bedoin tribe living on the southern coast of the Hormoz Strait also speaks this dialect.

34. *Zāzā*: It is spoken in Sīverak, Chabakhchūr and Kar. Another dialect Gūrāni is used in Kundūle, Pāve, Urāmān and Tala Hedeshk. There are some more dialects spoken in this region and most of them are related to the Kurdish.

In spite of the researches made so far nothing definite can be said about the inter-relation of the contemporary Iranian dialects and their classification. Probably the Central Iranian dialects have come down from Middle Iranian, consisting of Pahlavānīk among others. But none of the present dialects seems to be a direct continuation of Pahlavānīk. Modern or Dari Persian, which is the continuation of the literary, administrative and commercial language of the Sasanian era and the developed form of a south-western dialect, dominated all other dialects, though, as is quite natural for an official and literary language, it borrowed many words from north-western and north-eastern dialects.

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# 2

## Dari Persian

*Persian-Arabic Conflict*



## Persian-Arabic Conflict

The conquest of Iran by the Arabs and the conversion of the Iranians to Islam did not affect the common language of the masses because the greater part of Iran, especially the eastern, was conquered not through war but through negotiations and most of the local rulers were retained by the Arabs to administer their respective countries. On the other hand the Arab governors appointed in several Iranian cities were not acquainted with the civil and administrative system of the new country and therefore they had to rely on the Iranian officials who were more adept in these matters. We have numerous records to show that the official business was carried out in Persian for a century after the conquest.

According to several sources, it was for the first time under Hajjāj b. Yūsuf (41-95 A.H. / 661-714 A.D.) that Arabic was adopted for office work in western Iran. Balāzori, the author of *Fotūh al-Boldān* reports in this regard :

"The offices of the tribute in Savād and other parts of Iraq originally carried out their business in Persian. When Hajjāj was appointed to the government of Iraq he entrusted the secretarial work to Zādān Farrokh... He was assisted in this work by Sāleh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, a slave of Banu Tamīm, who was well-versed in Arabic and Persian. He was introduced to Hajjāj by Zādān Farrokh... Sāleh said to Hajjāj, 'By God, if I want to convert the revenue records from Persian into Arabic I can do it'... After some time... Zādān Farrokh was killed and Hajjāj entrusted the secretariat to the care of Sāleh. The latter repeated his claim about changing revenue records from Persian into Arabic before Hajjāj... The latter gave his consent and asked him to do accordingly.... Mardānshāh b. Zādān Farrokh is reported to have said, 'May God uproot the family of Sāleh because he uprooted the tree of Persian.' "<sup>1</sup>

In Khorāsān, too, the administrative system of the Sasanians conti-

nued till the end of Heshām b. 'Abd al-Malek's caliphate (105-125 A.H./723-743 A.D.). We are told by Jaheshyāri, "Till now most of the clerks in Khorāsān were zoroastrians and maintained the revenue records in Persian. It was in 124 A.H. that Yūsuf b. 'Omar, the governor of Iraq, sent through Suleimān Tayyār, a letter to Nasr b. Sayyār. The letter said that no assistance should be sought from the pagans in office work. The first person who changed the office and revenue records from Persian into Arabic was Is'hāq b. Taliq, a man from Nahshal tribe."<sup>2</sup>

Henceforth, Arabic became the official and administrative language of the entire Iran and many Iranians devoted themselves to learn this language. The knowledge of Arabic not only provided the Iranians with greater chance for civil and administrative posts, but it also served as a means to develop relations with the whole Islamic world. The number of the Iranian poets, writers and scholars of Arabic who lived during the first three centuries A.H. is quite high. Tha'ālabi, the author of *Yatīmat al-Dahr* mentions 119 Iranian poets of Arabic who lived under the Samanids in Khorāsān and Transoxiana only. The number is further increased in the *Tatīmmat al-Yatīmat*. In addition to the poets, we know a good number of Iranian scholars and philosophers who composed valuable original works in Arabic or translated literary and scientific works of Iran into this language, some of which have come down to us.<sup>3</sup>

As against these Iranian elite, the masses had no knowledge of Arabic and used their own language. It seems that the Arabs who had come to Iran along with the Muslim army or had migrated later on to this land lived in separate quarters and hardly mixed with the Iranians.

Jāhez tells us about a commentator of the Qur'ān, Mūsa b. Sayyār al-Asvāri, undoubtedly a wonder of the world, who had equal mastery in Persian and Arabic. He says, "(Mūsa) was flanked in his famous assembly by the Arabs on the right and the Iranians on the left. He recited a verse of the Qur'ān and explained it first in Arabic for the Arabs and then he would turn to the Iranians and explain it in Persian. It was difficult to judge in which language he possessed greater mastery."<sup>4</sup> Mūsa lived from the end of the second century to the beginning of the third century A.H.

It is evident from the above instance that neither did the Arab immigrants mix with the Iranian masses nor the latter possessed a knowledge of Arabic. Thus Arabic was popular only among the civil servants, writers and scholars who were naturally attached to the establishment on account of their social status, but the common Iranian people were not familiar with it. The former enjoying significant social privileges regarded themselves as the elite of the society and held others who did not know Arabic, as ignorant and inferior.

Even some of the early Iranian leaders who rose against the Arab domination were familiar with Arabic on account of their previous association with the establishment of the caliphate and used it in adminis-

tration. This knowledge of Arabic won them the title of '*Ālem* (scholar) from the secretaries who carried on the business in Arabic. The author of *Tārīkh-e Sīstān* writes about Hamze b. 'Abdollāh al-Shārī who had rebelled in Sīstān, "He was a 'scholar' because he knew Arabic and the poets of his court composed poetry in Arabic."<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand, the same author tells us about Ya'qūb b. Leith that when the poets read out Arabic verses before him he could not follow because he was not a 'scholar' (did not know Arabic).<sup>6</sup> So Ya'qūb who had risen from the masses had no knowledge of Arabic like them and so were probably his successors.

During this period, however, there was apparently a large number of the Iranians who were ignorant of Arabic but knew Persian reading and writing. It is reported that when Khwājeh Abol-Qāsem Samarcandi compiled the book *Al-Savād al-A'zam* in Arabic at the instance of the Samanid ruler Ismā'il (279-295 A.H./892-908 A.D.) the latter asked him to render it into Persian so that it might be understood equally by the elite and the common people.<sup>7</sup>

The above remark clearly shows that by 'common people' the Amir meant the persons who could read Persian but were unable to read Arabic, otherwise there would have been no need for Persian version for the illiterate.

Other Samanid kings were also ignorant of Arabic. When *Tafsīr-e Tabari* was brought from Baghdad and read out before Mansūr b. Nūh (350-365 A.H.) he could not understand it in Arabic, and so he expressed a desire that the book should be translated into Persian.<sup>8</sup>

The policy adopted by the Samanid kings to popularize Persian and to get important Arabic works translated into this language was motivated by the fact that the majority of the Iranians held their language in high esteem and were either ignorant of Arabic or had little knowledge of it.

Ibn Houqal, a writer of the fourth century Hijra (tenth century A.D.) tells us about Abu Mansūr Baghāvi, the secretary of Neshāpūr, that he was the richest and the most prolific writer among the Khorāsānis but while he was a master of Persian he was almost ignorant of Arabic.<sup>9</sup> Another reason to believe that the Persian-knowing group existed in large number is the discovery of some Persian records written in non-Arabic scripts and dating from the fourth/fifth century A.H. (tenth/eleventh century A.D.) of which we shall speak later on in detail.

The policy to popularize Persian language continued after the Samanid reign because the rulers conceded to the wishes of the Iranian majority. We may say that the patronage accorded to Persian by the Persian-speaking Saffarids and Samanids was motivated by the patriotic feelings and by their love for Iran. But the same reason cannot be attributed to the Ghaznavid and Seljuq Turks under whom people evinced greater interest in Persian and Abol-'Abbās Isfarāynī, the Minister of Mahmūd Ghaznavi, again changed the official work from Arabic into Persian. The

state secretaries were, however, not happy with the step taken by Abol-'Abbās because, for them, knowledge of Arabic was a privilege and means for decent livelihood. These secretaries carried much influence and they succeeded in persuading Ahmad b. Hasan Meimandi, the next Minister of Mahmūd, to transact official business in Arabic. 'Otbi, the author of *Tārīkh-e Yamīni*, says, "Abol-'Abbās had no sufficient knowledge of secretarial work. He had taken little pains in writing and the study of literature. It was under him that official correspondence was changed from Arabic into Persian."<sup>10</sup>

The above author, then, praises Meimandi who restored Arabic and under whom the Arabic-knowing secretaries flourished again.

But this retrograde step had little effect. The desire to replace Arabic by Persian in administrative, literary or scientific works was ever on the increase. Even during the reign of Mahmūd, scholars like Abu Reihān Bīrūnī and Avicenna who had compiled their philosophical and scientific works in Arabic according to the trend of the time, used the medium of Persian for some other works. The translator of *Kalile Va Demne* makes it explicitly clear that by then the people were no longer interested in Arabic.<sup>11</sup> We are also told by the translator of *Tārīkh-e Bokhārā*, "As the majority of the people are no more interested in the study of Arabic, my friends wanted me to translate this book into Persian and I responded to their wish, completing the translation in Jomādā I, 522 A.H."<sup>12</sup>

There is much circumstantial evidence to show that the Iranians in general were never overtaken by Arabic and the use of this language was limited to the centre of the caliphate and its subordinate offices. There was an element of artificiality whenever and wherever Arabic was used in Iran, and in many cases it could not be used at all. We are told by the author of *Tārīkh-e Yamīni* that orders were given to write all firmans, records and letters in Arabic excepting where the addressee was not able to follow this language.<sup>13</sup> And such cases were numerous.

We learn from some historical works that though the Iranian secretaries and officers of the Arab establishment could very well read and write Arabic up to the fifth century A.H. (eleventh century A.D.), yet they were not able to speak it. For instance, when an emissary of the caliph came to the court of Mahmūd, we are told by Abol-Fazl Beihāqi, "three chamberlains and Abol-Hasan Karakhi and Mozaffar Hakīm who spoke Arabic very well...were appointed to receive the emissary and bring him to the city with all honour."<sup>14</sup>

It is evident from the above statement that while some of the secretaries and courtiers were at home in Arabic conversation, others could only read and write the language but were not able to speak it well.

By and by, under the Seljuq and Khwārazmshāhi rulers, Arabic lost its popularity for official work. The Seljuq kings were most probably familiar with Persian only and did not know Arabic. The Persian letters that Ghazālī<sup>15</sup> wrote to the Seljuq ruler Sanjar, his courtiers and other

important men of the time or the official correspondence and the firmanas of the Khwārazmshāhis as contained in *Al-Tavassol Ilā al-Tarassol*,<sup>16</sup> clearly prove the point. After the Mongol invasion and particularly after the fall of the caliphate, Arabic had its final exit from the offices and Persian regained its supreme position. It, however, did not mitigate the influence of Arabic on Persian. The excessive use of Arabic vocabulary in our language is basically the result of the immense influence that the scholars of Arabic and Arabic-knowing secretaries wielded in the establishment. Besides, works on Theology, Sufism, Logic and other sciences were first composed in Arabic. Later on, when such works were written in Persian, Arabic technical terms were not replaced by Persian except very rarely. This was another reason for the infiltration of Arabic words into Persian. On the other hand, the works meant for the common people such as *Samak-e 'Ayyār*, *Sekandar-Nāme*, etc., contain comparatively smaller ratio of Arabic words than what is witnessed in books like *Kashf al-Mahjūb* of Hojveiri, *Kashf al-Mahjūb* of Sajestāni, *Tarjoma-e Sharh-e Ta 'arrof*, etc.

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*Persian in Non-Arabic Scripts*



## Persian in Non-Arabic Scripts

We do not know exactly when the Iranians adopted the Arabic script for Persian because the oldest record that has come down to us in this regard dates from the fifth century A.H. (eleventh century A.D.).<sup>1</sup> But it is almost established that much before it the Iranians had been using the Perso-Arabic script for their language. On the other hand, there are written records to show that Persian and some Iranian dialects were also written in scripts other than Arabic during the early post-Islamic centuries. These scripts, generally employed by the Iranian minorities, were Hebrew, Manichaean and Pahlavi.

### 1. Hebrew Script

The Jews living in Iran from ancient times as an ethnic and religious minority, gave up Hebrew in the course of time and used Iranian languages for their day-to-day work. Probably their rabbi alone could read the Jewish scriptures and interpret them for the common followers of Judaism. But the Hebrew script was retained by the Jews who used it for Persian or other Iranian dialects.

There exists a considerable number of Persian records in Hebrew script, which hold great significance for the history of Persian language. Most of these records are the translation of Jewish scriptures and do not bear any clear date. It is only by conjecture that we ascertain their date and place of transcription.

Three short inscriptions were discovered on a grave-tablet in Tang-i-Azao situated in a far-off pass in Afghanistan bearing the date of 1064 Sleucan (135 A.H./752 A.D.). They are the oldest record of Persian discovered so far.<sup>2</sup> Fragment of a letter has been found in Dandan-Uiliq, Khotan (Chinese Turkistan) which dates from the second century A.H.

(eighth century A.D.) but it has not been deciphered properly so far.<sup>3</sup>

In Travancore (Kerala, South India), a certain church possesses a bronze utensil which presumably dates from the third century A.H. (ninth century A.D.). The utensil bears Persian inscriptions in Hebrew, Pahlavi and Arabic scripts. The first one reads as follows :

*Hmgn mn pdš gwhm<sup>4</sup>* (I...am witness to it.)

A few grave-tablets have been discovered in Central Afghanistan bearing Persian inscription in Hebrew script and dating from the sixth or seventh century A.H. (twelfth/thirteenth century A.D.).

There is another category of Persian records in Hebrew script which, if compared with the former ones, may reveal some significant points. The explanatory translations of the Pentateuch preserved in the National Library, Paris, British Museum and the Libraries of the Vatican and Leningrad belong to this group.<sup>5</sup>

The oldest written record in Persian-Hebrew is dated 1332 Sleucan (1021 A.D. or 412 A.H.). It is a transaction document written at Horamshir (Ahvāz) apparently in a south-western Iranian dialect pertaining to the region of Fārs and Khūzestān. If we compare this document with its contemporary Pahlavi works compiled in this region and other Persian works of the same period, it may lead us to several important conclusions in respect of pre-Islamic Iranian languages.<sup>6</sup>

The translation of the aforesaid document preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford under No. MS. Heb. b. 12 fol. 24, as given by Prof. D.N. Mackenzie is given below :

"It was thus before us *witnesses*, whose signatures are written below this record, in Horamshir (Ahvāz), a town among those of Khūzistān, that it happened in the first period in the month of Shebāt, year 1332 according to the Seleucid era (A.D. 1021). There were present before us Hannah, daughter of Israel ben Jacob, *his rest (be) in paradise*, and she cited Daniel ben Reuben and Azariah, known as 'Baby'. And this Hannah ben Israel said thus, 'This Daniel ben Reuben and my husband (Azariah ?), has gone, without my order or desire, and taken from my brothers, who are in Egypt, six pairs of pearls and sold them for twenty-five dīnārs. And this was the property of me and my brothers Sahl and Joseph and Sa'īd, sons of Israel ben Jacob *R.I.P.*' And the elders said to him, 'You did wrong (when) you did this, that you laid hands on property other than your own and you are in a state of lawlessness through this that you have done.' And he answered, 'I was compelled to do it by hand and heart, for I was in great difficulty.' And the elders said to him, 'It is incumbent upon you, Daniel ben Reuben, to make recompense for it and to ask for a note of assignment from the owners of the property.' And this Daniel ben Reuben said, 'There is something of mine with these (men) Sahl and Joseph and Sa'īd, sons of Israel ben Jacob, *R.I.P.*, and I am content before you elders that you should write it and make it right.' Finally when, it came right (by his saying), 'I am content; there is (something) that I have put

under their hands as recompense for these pearls, in place of these dīnārs, (for) I sold them and took 25 genuine gold (sūltani) dīnārs', and he was content, and we took the *property* from the hands of this, Daniel ben Reuben and Azariah, known as 'Baby', it was convenient to take the *property* in (the form of) clothing, by the *laws of Sinai and the words of Horeb, at his wish and desire*, and this Daniel ben Reuben and Azariah abandoned all (further) claim (on it) to the end of all actions of protest. And we wrote this and gave it into the hand of Hannah, daughter of Israel ben Jacob, R.I.P., that there may be therefrom a release and a proof.

(Signed)

Azariah ben Abrahām ben] 'Ammār,  
Sa'dān ben Daniel ben Sa'dān.'"

Another document is a manuscript preserved in the British Museum under Or. 8659. It is wondered where this document had been lying through all these ages because it was purchased by the British Museum in 1920 from Dr A.S. Yahuda. It contains a commentary on the Book of Joshua in an Iranian dialect and in Hebrew script.<sup>8</sup> The treatise gives neither the date of compilation nor that of transcription but the mode of its writing is akin to that of the Ahvāz document transcribed in 412 A.H. The points of similarity in both the documents are as follows :

(1) Persian phonemes that have no sign in Hebrew are indicated by letters which are similarly pronounced, for example,

Persian	Hebrew
ç (che)	Tsade
j (jīm)	Tsade, Shin
f (fā)	Pay
x (khe)	Khet
q (qāf)	Kuf
ð (ðāl), z (zā)	Zaiyn
θ (thā), s (sād)	Samekh

(2) There is no particular sign for short vowels and they are indicated by long vowels ā, ū, ī. The semivowels w and y are doubled.

(3) The short vowel i coming at the end of *Mozāf* and *Mousūf* is indicated by y and is put at the beginning of the next word.

(4) The conjunction is indicated with w and it is prefixed with the following word.

(5) The Hebrew alef is a sign for both a and ā.

(6) The unvoiced h coming at the end of some Persian words is indicated by a letter equivalent to y which shows that such words ended on the sound of e instead of a.

Below is given a literal translation of a part of the text :<sup>9</sup>

"If any one asks you, 'How do you know that he was a prophet

for the world, and that need was there of a prophet ?, you answer 'He was a prophet for the world, for the world cannot dispense with a prophet, and because the management of the world rests on prophethood. For the God of all the world is the Creator of all things, and whatever he created, He did not create it to be despised nor did he create it in vain—perish that thought—for such as this is not in (the nature of) God and He does not like what is vain or unworthy, for He is a God who is aware beforehand what He will create, and for that creature He created support, against the time when He created their creation, for He knows what is necessary for the organisation and support of them, and that thing (which) He brought forth for them. Of every thing that God created, and has the breath of life in it, (and) nothing did He create that He made greater than mankind; and He created many things in the qualities of the creation of mankind which He did not create in any (other) description of animal, for among the qualities of other animals it is so of a quadruped, and even a bird, that without the teaching of a guide it knows to go to its own business, and it knows for what it is needed and (for) what it is not needed and what is proper for it and what is not proper for it; for know this, that if you take an animal, young and small, having been weaned, and abandon it in plain or in mountain, it knows to beneath which herb it should go and which fodder there is that suits it and which there is that is not right for it."

There are other Persian texts in Hebrew script but the space at our disposal does not permit us to describe them.<sup>10</sup> But the few examples quoted above reveal some very important points about the history of Persian language. The Ahvāz document, for instance, was transcribed in 412 A.H. (1021-22 A.D.) and though the translation of the Book of Joshua does not bear a date, yet it has much similarity with the above document in respect of script and linguistic features. These texts differ considerably with their contemporary Dari but they are nearer to the contemporary Pahlavi texts composed during the third and fourth centuries Hijra (ninth/tenth century A.D.) in the south-western region of Iran. For instance, the following words occurring in Persian-Hebrew texts are also found in Pahlavi (Middle Persian) but not in Dari Persian :<sup>11</sup>

<i>Hebrew-Persian</i>	<i>Dari Persian</i>
kw	ke
'pys	pīš
'y	ke
'wr	bar
hynd	—and=hastand
'ws	ū, ūrā
'azir	zīr
'bdam	'āqebat
'bāry	dīgar

'bāz	bāz
'yyb	yā
'anwmydyh	noumīdi
'spwryh	kāmel
'wsk'rd	mośāvare, mosāhabē
'zyś	azu
b'jst'nyh	do'āxvāni
bruyym	begarvīm
by	balke
bz'rd	gozārad
bzwrśt	gozareś
hm̄gwn'	hamçonān, hamçonīn
tys	çīz
w'ynd	parande
whm'n	bahmān, folān
jwyśn	jostju
nwn	aknūn
srdg'n	najibūn
tabhyst	tabāh šod
hwm	—am=hastam
'bdyh	'ajab
p'	be

The above words evidently belong to a dialect other than Dari Persian. Of the two texts quoted above, we know that one was written in Ahvāz. The other being similar to it in script and vocabulary, is also presumed to belong to a south-western dialect of Fārs and Khūzestān.

A systematic comparison of these texts with contemporary Dari Persian (the best specimens of which are seen in the translation of *Tafsīr-e Tabari* and *Tārikh-e Tabari*, and the *Shāh-Nāme* of Ferdousi) leads us to the following significant points in the development of Persian language :

(1) Dari Persian is not a continuation or the modified form of south-western Pahlavi (Pārsīk) but it is an independent Iranian language that existed parallel to it.

(2) The Pahlavi (Pārsīk) language was used by the Zoroastrians of south-western Iran and it remained in vogue a few centuries after the Arab conquest. The statement of Istakhari that Pahlavi is the language of writing for the Zoroastrians,<sup>12</sup> also confirms the point.

(3) Most of the Zoroastrian works in Pahlavi (Pārsīk) like *Bondāhesh*, *Dīnkard*, etc., were composed in Fārs during this very period. The Pahlavi alphabets used in these texts have, no doubt, historical significance having old traditions behind them but when they are read along with the Hebrew-Persian script, many phonemes in both the scripts seem

to be similar and thus we have to give up the traditional pronunciation of several Pahlavi phonemes.

(4) Pronunciation of some words written in Persian script and ascertained by means of diacritical marks or rhyming, differs with what we come across in the Hebrew-Persian script and agrees with that in the Pahlavi (Pārsīk) texts. It is also important to note that these pronunciations still exist in some Iranian dialects but not in Dari Persian. For instance, the pronominal suffix of first person is pronounced *om* in the Hebrew-Persian texts as against *am* in Dari Persian such as *Berādrānom*, *Delom*, *Būdom*, *Kerdom*, etc.

Similarly, the word *Kerd* (*Kard* of Persian) used in these texts still retains its original pronunciation in certain dialects of Iran.

The Hebrew-Persian texts still need further research and analysis on the part of Iranian scholars. It is hoped that their efforts will bring to light more important facts about Iranian dialectology and the history of the development of Persian language.

## 2. The Manichaean Script

Among the Manichaean records and documents discovered at Turfān in different Iranian languages (Pārsīk, Pahlavānīk, Sogdian) and non-Iranian ones, there is also an incomplete fragment in Dari Persian. This fragment written in the Manichaean script contains a few verses and according to Henning dates from the fourth century Hijra (tenth century A.D.) the period of Rūdaki.<sup>13</sup>

The scribe of the fragment who used the Manichaean script for Pahlavi and Sogdian texts has employed the same for Dari Persian with the result that if it is read as it is written it will sound very strange. But the correct pronunciation of Persian words can be determined by some other means. For instance, the contemporary Persian pronunciation is known to us. Similarly the metre of the verse can help us in determining the correct pronunciation.

The script used in these Manichaean records consists of the following 22 Aramaic letters in its alphabetical order :

a b g d h w z h t y k l m n s ' b s q r s t

They are, however, supplemented by the following six other letters :

f y d f j x

In this script 'č' is indicated with two points on 'č' and 'č' sounds both as *t* and *d*.

Some characteristics of this script influenced by the Pahlavi and Sogdian scripts as well as by the habit of the scribe are given below :

(1) The conjunction *vā* pronounced as short *ə* both in poetry and prose is written as 'od' here.

- (2) The sign of *Izāfat* sounding as *e* or *è* is indicated by 'eg'.
- (3) *i* or the suffix of abstract noun (as in *safid+i* and *dūst+i*) is written as 'ih' or 'ih' ending on voiced *h*.
- (4) 'ad', the personal ending for singular number, third person of the Aorist is written as 'ed' or 'èd'; for example, 'ämèd' (amed) in place of 'ämad'.
- (5) Persian words ending on unvoiced *h* 'and pronounced as *a* or *e* end here on 'eg' or 'ag'. For instance, 'Rīsha,' 'Rīshe' is written as 'Rishag' or 'Risheg'.

Now we reproduce specimen of the defective fragment. It may be mentioned that in the process of transcription we have been guided not by the Manichaean script but by the pronunciation of Persian words popular in that period and determined with the help of the aforesaid means.

The following few lines taken from a poem entitled *Balohar and Būdāsf* are in the *Ramal Mosaddas Maqsūr* (or *Mahzūf*) metre :

'Tā nabāśad roušan andar...  
 çun delat šod bi gomān...  
 ar koni çūnīn ke gofti mar marā  
 jāy gīrad xod soxan delat andarā.  
 bix o riše dāneš andar del bekār  
 pas berūyad nar do šāx o (barg o bār).'

(So long as the inside is not enlightened, the heart cannot cast away apprehension. If you do as you advise me your words will find a place in the heart. Sow the seed of wisdom in your heart to grow into a blooming shady tree.)

Another specimen reproduced below is apparently part of a qasida in the *Mozāre Akhrab Makfūf Mahzūf* metre in which the poet complains of hard times and the ultimate end of man.

'Dardā sereštāi ke forūmānad az javāb  
 ba ḥolfeqār-e-'aql gośāī soxan be zār  
 faryād azīn zamāne azin qahr e mardomān  
 faryād azīn zamāne zamāna-e setīzkār.'  
 ('Oh, for the agony that makes you speechless !  
 The sword of reason can alone resolve the mystery.  
 Alas ! for this time, the angry men;  
 Alas ! for the time that is always at daggers drawn.)

### 3. The Pahlavi Script

There is every possibility that the Pahlavi script remained in use to the first quarter of the second century Hijra (eighth century A.D.), by the

time Persian was replaced by Arabic in official correspondence. Even after Perso-Arabic script became popular in the country, the Pahlavi script was used in some parts of Iran by religious minorities. From the few works that have come down to us it cannot be said with certainty whether the Pahlavi script was used only for the south-western Pahlavi (*Pārsīk*) or for other Iranian dialects as well, including Dari Persian.

The coins of the Arab caliphs show that they were modelled after the Sasanian coins and resemble them both in words and shape. Their Arabic names have been written in the Pahlavi style such as 'bydl īah Zayātān for 'Ubeidollāh b. Zeyād who was the governor of *Sīstān*, 53-56 A.H. (672-676 A.D.).

Some Islamic monuments belonging to the early fifth century A.H. (eleventh century A.D.) and situated on the coast of the Caspian Sea in North Iran still bear some inscriptions. One of these inscriptions at a tower in *Lājīm* is both in the *Kūfi* and Pahlavi scripts. *Lājīm* is a village on the east of the road leading from *Firūzkūh* to *Shāhi* (in *Māzndarān*). This tower is actually the tomb of a *Bāvandi* prince with the name of *Keyā Abol-Favāres Shahryār* b. Al-'Abbās b. Shahryār and it bears the date of 413 A.H. (1022-23 A.D.).

The Pahlavi inscription of this tower has not been so far deciphered properly and therefore nothing definite can be said about its text.

In *Resget*, a village in the same region and situated at four hours journey on foot from *Zīrāb*, there is another tomb which bears architectural similarity with the *Lājīm* Tower and seems to be belonging to the same period. It also has an inscription in both the *Kūfi* and Pahlavi scripts carved above the main gate. The inscription runs in four lines, the first three lines and a half are in the *Kūfi* script containing the *Kaleme* and the second half of the fourth line is in the Pahlavi script.<sup>14</sup> It is evident from these inscriptions that the Pahlavi script was still used in this part of Iran till the early years of the fifth century A.H. (eleventh century A.D.).

Recently, a grave-tablet was discovered in *Sian* (China) bearing the date of 240 *Yazdgerdi* and an inscription in the Chinese and Pahlavi. The grave belongs to the daughter of an Iranian noble who had sought refuge in China. It shows that after the Arab invasion, a number of Iranians had fled to China for refuge. The inscription is interesting from the linguistic point of view. It is written in the same character and style as employed for the south-western Pahlavi with *Hozvāresh* words and the usual prayer found in Zoroastrian scriptures for the soul of a deceased person.

It is evident from this inscription that the Iranian refugees in China had preserved their religion, traditions and language till the middle of the third century A.H. (ninth century A.D.). But in the light of this inscription we are not able to say what particular language they used for day-to-day work.

The translation of the above inscription is like this :

"This is the late Princess Māsish, daughter of the late General Si Zin Say of (the family) of Sūrn. She passed away in the twenty-sixth year of her age on the fifth day of Isfandārmoz coinciding with the month of Jen Min in the year of 240 Yazdgerdi (260 Tanikan or 51 Sen Ten). May her soul rest in Heaven with the god and angels. Peace be on her".<sup>16</sup>

Some of the Muslim rulers of Iran up to the end of the fourth century A.H. (tenth century A.D.) followed the Sasanian style in minting their coins and used the Pahlavi script and *Hozvāresh* words after the model of the Sasanian coins. We have a coin from 'Azod al-Doule, the Dailamite ruler (272-338 A.H.) minted in Fārs in 359 A.H. The coin bears on one side a picture of the ruler wearing a crown like that worn by Khosrou Parvīz. On either side of the picture the following words are written in Pahlavi:

'Farah afzūd Shāhān-Shāh'

On the margin the *Kaleme* is written in the Kūfi character. The other side of the coin also carries the same picture with the following words in the Pahlavi script :

'Dīr zi shāh penā Khusrāw'

along with the date of its minting in the Kūfi character.<sup>16</sup>

An inscription by the above 'Azod al-Doule has been discovered in Persipolis bearing Arabic text in Kūfi character. Its translation is given below :

"In the name of God. From here passed the grand Amir 'Azod al-Doulat Fenā Khosrou, son of Hasan in the year of 344 (A.H.) while returning victorious after the conquering of Isfahān, capturing the son of Mākān and routing the force of Khorāsān. Here he summoned some one who would read out the inscription of these monuments to him."

It is quite clear from this inscription that up to the middle of the fourth century A.H. (tenth century A.D.) there have been people in Fārs who knew the Pahlavi script and used it for reading and writing.<sup>17</sup>

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*Phonetic Changes in Persian  
from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*



## Phonetic Changes in Persian from the Earliest Times to the Present Day

It has already been stated (Vol. I, p. 113) that every language undergoes a series of changes during the course of time, and phonemic change is one of them. There is, however, no general rule to govern phonemic changes and that is why the process varies in different languages at different stages or in the same language in different cases. For instance, if we study a particular phoneme right from the parent language down to its off-shoots, we will see that as the family-tree grows up, the phoneme changes into different sounds in sister languages, and that explains the reason why languages of the same family develop variations and their phonemes have different pronunciation.

Therefore, a comparative study of the various forms of a word in sister languages or in the same language in different stages, alone can provide us some rules of phonemic modifications and that, too, will be limited to that case only. In that particular case, too, each phoneme is not governed by a uniform principle because the modification might have been caused by the particular place the phoneme possesses in a word or by the surrounding phonemes.

The development of Iranian languages from the beginning till the recent times has been historically divided into three basic stages :

- (i) Old
- (ii) Middle
- (iii) Modern

At each of the three stages a number of dialects existed in different regions of the vast land of Iran, and in some of these dialects written records are available. At each stage these dialects are divided into several groups according to the characteristics of their structure and pronunciation :

(i) Old Stage	
Western	Eastern
South-Western : Achaemenian Persian	Avestan
(ii) Middle Stage	
South-western : }	
Pārsīk	Sakae, Khotani, Tokhāri,
North-western : }	Sogdian, Khwārazmi
Pahlavānīk	
(iii) Modern Stage	
South-western : Dari Persian and numerous other dialects	South-eastern : Pushto, Pamir dialects
North-western : Kurdish, Balūchi	North-eastern : Yaghnābi, Ossetic

It is evident from the above chart that Dari Persian, which is the main subject of our discussion, belongs to the group of western, more precisely south-western Iranian languages, to which also belong Achaemenian Persian and Pārsīk or Southern Pahlavi. But it cannot be said definitely that they are the direct off-shoots of one another. At the most, they may be regarded south-western dialects in the three-stage development of the Iranian languages, although each of them enjoyed the status of the official and administrative language in its own period, which helped in its growth and development.

In this chapter, therefore, we shall compare the words of Old Persian, Pārsīk (Southern Pahlavi) and Dari Persian in order to indicate the mode of phonemic modification from the Old stage to the Middle and from the Middle stage to the Modern one.

In the column of Old stage, generally words of Achaemenian Persian are given, but in case no such word is available in the Achaemenian Persian, it is represented by an Avestan word. But this liberty has been taken in such cases only where we are sure that, according to the linguistic principle, the phoneme in question had been the same in both Achaemenian Persian and Avestan, and if that word had existed in Old Persian it would have had similar phoneme.

In the Middle stage, Zoroastrian Pahlavi ( Pārsīk ) is distinguished among the south-western languages for having a comparatively old script. But the possibility cannot be ruled out that when the Pahlavi texts were actually compiled or transcribed, the phonemes assumed new sounds in relation to script symbols just like Manichaean Persian which has older texts than Pahlavi but its pronunciation is comparatively modern. For instance, the phoneme *t* in Zoroastrian Pahlavi is almost equal to *d* in Manichaean Persian, and the latter sound is similar to that in Dari Persian.

While recording the words of Old Persian, Pārsīk and Pahlavānīk

(Pahlavi) we have adopted Latin alphabets with special signs but the Dari words have been reproduced in the prevalent Persian script which has been used by the scribes during the last six or seven centuries and which is now taught in the Iranian schools. However, in some of the Persian manuscripts dating from the fifth to the seventh century A.H. some of these words have been recorded in a form different form that used in recent times. This variation indicates that Dari had different dialects in different parts of the country and had not yet assumed a permanent uniform shape to become the standard language. This point will be discussed in a separate chapter of this book.

### Phoneme Symbols

The Cuneiform script used for Old Persian had only three symbols for vowels. But in view of the linguistic principles we are inclined to believe that each vowel had its short and long forms (Vol. I, p. 225). Therefore, the symbols used for the vowels of Old Persian are as follows :

<i>Short</i>	<i>Long</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>
<i>u</i>	<i>ū</i>
<i>i</i>	<i>ī</i>

#### Diphthongs :

<i>au</i>	<i>ai</i>
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While recording words of Middle Persian simple vowels are indicated with the above symbols but the diphthongs are shown with the following symbols :

è = Yā-e Majhūl

ō = Vāv-e Majhūl

In both the stages the symbols of voiceless phonemes are as follows :

b = ب	s = ش
p = پ	c = چ
t = ت	γ = غ
θ = ث	f = ف
l = ل	k = ک
g = گ	g = گ
x = خ	l = ل
d = د	m = م
s = س	n = ن
r = ر	v = و (Old Persian)
z = ز	w = و (Middle Persian)
ž = ژ	h = ه
s = س	y = ی

## Vowels

1. Omission of the final vowel : In Old Persian word stems generally ended on a vowel, but from the beginning of the Middle stage this vowel (sometimes along with its preceding consonant) was dropped, and the same has come down to Dari Persian :

<i>Old Persian</i>	<i>Middle Persian</i>	<i>Dari Persian</i>
parsa—	pārs	<i>Pārs</i> (Fārs)
barati	barad	<i>barad</i> (he takes)
maðu	may	<i>mei</i> (wine)

2. Omission of the initial vowel : The vowels *a* or *ā* that start many Old Persian words are retained in the Middle Persian but they are omitted in Modern Persian (Dari) :

<i>Old</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Modern</i>
an-āp-	anāb	<i>nāb</i> (pure)
an-aušah-	anōś	<i>nūś</i> (drink)
apāç	abāz	<i>bāz</i> (again)
asabāra-	aswār	<i>savār</i> (rider)

This point is further confirmed by numerous Pāhlavi words whose old form is not known to us :

<i>Pahlavi</i>	<i>Dari Persian</i>
abē	<i>bī</i> (without)
an-ōmēd	<i>noumīd</i> (hopeless)
asēm	<i>sīm</i> (silver)
awērān	<i>vīrān</i> (desolate)
abar	<i>bar</i> (on, at)

But some of these words are used in their original Pahlavi form, i.e., along with the initial vowel in old Dari texts particularly in the poetry of early post-Islamic period, for example :

*abar* = *bar*

*abē* = *bī*

*abā* = *bā*

3.1. The vowel *a* indicated by *fathé* in Dari Persian and occurring in the beginning of the middle of a word, generally retained itself and did not undergo a change :

-ati (verb ending)	-ad (as in <i>ravad</i> )
-anti (verb ending)	-and (as in <i>ravand</i> )
-ant (suffix of the	-ande, anda (as in <i>ravande</i> )
Noun of Agent)	
ham	-ham
pçati-	<i>pazad</i>

3.2. The *a* occurring at the end of a word or it being the last letter after its following consonant is dropped, still retains itself in some local pronunciation of Iran. But in the standard pronunciation of contemporary Persian it has changed to *e* :

<i>Old</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Modern</i>
hamā-	hamag	hame (-a) (all)

This last vowel is indicated by *h* in Persian script and is called unvoiced *h*.

4.1. The long vowel ā has been generally retained :

<i>Old</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Modern</i>
āzāta-	āzād	āzād (free)
mātar-	mādar	mādar (mother)
framāna-	framān	farmān (firman)
dāta-	dād	dād (justice)

4.2. A few verbs, in some of their inflectional forms, change ā to ū. For example, *farmūdan* derived from *fra+√ma* whose root in the Avestan and Sanskrit is also mā- changes its ā to ū in past stem and its derivatives as *farmūd*, *farmūde*, *farmūdan*, etc.

The original vowel ā is, however, retained in the present stem and its derivatives such as *farmāyad*, *farmāy*, *farmāyeš*, etc.

5. The long vowel ī has remained the same during all the three stages :

<i>Old</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Modern</i>
dī-	dīdan	dīdan (to see)
xśīra-	śīr	śīr (milk)

6. The short u and the long ū have been retained in most of the cases :

huška-, uška-	hušk	xošk (dry)
dūta-	dūd	dūd (smoke)

7. The diphthongs *au* and *ai* of Old Persian were changed into ō and é respectively, in the Middle stage but they had no special symbols and were written like simple vowels ū and ī. During the early post-Islamic period the two diphthongs retained their own peculiar pronunciation, and the lexicographers compared them with similar, yet different, Arabic vowels and sometimes designated them as Vāv-e Majhūl (ō) and Yā-e Majhūl (é) or defined them as letters akin to 'vāv' and 'yā' (*Vazn-e She'r e Fārsi*, pp. 118-19). There is only one manuscript (*Tafsīr-e Pāk*) transcribed probably towards the end of the fourth century Hijra that has

a special symbol for é as .

Later on, in most of the cases, these diphthongs changed into simple long vowels. For instance, Sībveih quotes *zōr* and *āšōb* to illustrate ō and Hamze Isfahāni quotes '*bō'* for ō and *sér* and *śér* for é; but all these words are now pronounced with ū or ī, viz. *zūr*, *āšūb bū*, *sīr* and *śīr*. It may, however, be added that countries like Afghanistan and Tajekistan have retained the original pronunciation of ō and é for either groups of such words.

8. The concluding *awa* and *aya* changed into *aw* and *ay*, respectively, but the initial and medial *awa* and *aya* changed into ō and é in the

Middle stage and have come down to the Modern stage (Dari Persian) in the same form:

<i>Old</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Modern</i>
tava-	taw	<i>to</i> (thou, you)
nava-	nōg	<i>nou</i> (new)
-aya-mahi	èm	<i>īm</i> (verbal ending for 1st person plural)
-aya-ta	èd	<i>īd</i> (verbal ending for 2nd person plural)

9.1. The consonants *d* and *ð* flanked by two vowels change into *y* creating a new diphthongs :

maðu-	may	<i>mei</i> (wine)
paða-/pada-	pay	<i>pei</i> (foot)
pāða/pāda-	pāy	<i>pāy</i> (foot)
rādy	rāy	<i>rā</i> ( <i>y</i> ) (sign of object)
baoða-	bōy	<i>būy</i> (smell)

## Consonants

It has been stated earlier that the consonant changes are governed by their actual position in the word or by their flanking consonants and vowels. This point should be borne in mind while studying the nature of consonant changes.

### Initial Consonants

10. The initial consonants of Old Persian have not changed in the Middle and Modern stages except in a few instances :

<i>Old</i>	<i>B/B/B</i>	<i>Modern</i>
basta-	<i>bastan</i>	<i>bastian</i> (to bind)
✓bū	<i>būdan</i>	<i>būdan</i> (to be)
	<i>P/P/P</i>	
pussa-	<i>pus</i> ( <i>ar</i> )	<i>pos, pesar</i> (son)
pāda-	<i>pāy</i>	<i>pā</i> ( <i>y</i> ) (foot)
	<i>T/T/T</i>	
tanu-	<i>tan</i>	<i>tan</i> (body)
tauhma-	<i>tōxm/tōhm</i>	<i>toxm</i> (seed)
	<i>ç/ç/ç</i>	
çaşa-	<i>çaşm</i>	<i>çaşm</i> (eye)
çarman-	<i>çarm</i>	<i>çarm</i> (leather)

	X/X/X	
xaoda-	xōd	<i>xod</i> (self)
xratu-	xrad	<i>xerad</i> (intellect)
dauštar-	D/D/D	
drayah-	dōst dray [ab]	<i>dūst</i> (friend) <i>daryā</i> (sea)
rādiy	R/R/R	
rautah-	rāy rōd	<i>rā</i> (sign of object) <i>rūd</i> (river)
stūna-	S/S/S	
spāda-	stūn spāh	<i>sotūn</i> (pillar) <i>sepāh</i> (army)
śiyāta-	S/S/S	
śiyāv-	śād- śudan	<i>śād</i> (happy) <i>śodan</i> (to become)
fravarti-	F/F/F	
framāna-	frawahar framān	<i>forūhar</i> (matter) <i>farmān</i> (firman)
kāma-	K/K/K	
kaufa-	kām kōf	<i>kām</i> (desire) <i>kūh</i> (mountain)
garma-	G/G/G	
gauša-	garm gōś	<i>garm</i> (warm) <i>gūś</i> (ear)
martiya-	M/M/M	
māha-	mard māh	<i>mard</i> (man) <i>māh</i> (moon, month)
nāman-	N/N/N	
	nām	<i>nām</i> (name)

11. The following five consonants occurring in the beginning of a word in Old Persian have changed in the course of time :

*J,W,H,y,φ.*

11.1. The initial *j* in Old Persian words changes into *z* in the Middle and Modern stages :

jan-	zan	<i>zan</i> ( <i>zadan</i> ) (to strike)
jīv-	zīwistan	<i>zīstan</i> (to live)

Sometimes it changes into *z* :

Old	Middle	Modern
jafra-	jafr	<i>zarf</i> (deep)

11.2. The initial *v* followed by short *i* in Old Persian retains itself in the Middle stage but changes into 'go' in the Modern stage.

vištāspa-	wištāsp	<i>goštāsb</i> (name of a king)
vi-çar-	wizārd	<i>gozārd</i> ( <i>gozārdan</i> ) (to pass on)

vi-tar	widard	goθard ( <i>goθāštan</i> ) (to quit)
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11.3. The aspirated *h* starting a word in Old Persian was retained generally in the Middle stage but it was dropped in the Modern stage :

hanjāma-	hanzām	anjām (end)
hanjamana-	hanzaman	anjoman (company)
ham + √par-	hambār	anbārdan ( <i>anbāštan</i> , to fill)

11.4. The initial *y* changed into *j* in the Middle and Modern stages :

yauiya-	jōy	jūy (rivulet)
yavan-	juwān	javān (young)
yātu-	jādūg	jādū (magic)

11.5. The initial *φ* of Old Persian has changed into *s* in the Middle and Modern stages :

fard-	sār/sāl	sard/sāl
φata [gu-	sad	sad (hundred)

## Medial and Final Consonants

12. The *b* of Old Persian occurring in the middle or at the end of a word changes into *w* (probably a bilabial voiced phoneme) during the Middle stage and into *v* (labio-dental voiced phoneme) in the Modern stage :

Old	Middle	Modern
naiiba-	nēw	nīv (hold)
ā- + √ bar	āwar-	āvar ( <i>dan</i> ) (to bring)

12.1. The medial and final *p* in Old Persian changes into *b* in the following two stages :

āp-	āb	āb (water)
xśap-	śab	śab (night)

12.2. The medial and concluding *t* in the Old stage was replaced by *d* in the Middle stage and has remained the same in the Modern stage :

xratu-	xrad	xerad (intellect)
vāta-	wād	bād (wind)

12.3. When the medial *t* in Old Persian words follows a voiceless consonant it is retained and does not change into *d* :

dasta-	dast	dast (hand)
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12.4. The medial *φ* in Old Persian first changed into *s* and then into *h* in the Middle stage and the latter form has come down to Modern Persian :

maφašta-	mahist	mahest (weighty)
ākāφa-	āgāh	āgāh (aware)

12.5. The *j* of Old Persian changes into *z* in Pahlavānīk and into *z*

in Pārsīk. In Modern Persian it has generally come down as *z* and very seldom as *z* :

<i>Old Persian</i>	<i>Pahlavānīk</i>	<i>Pārsīk</i>	<i>Modern Persian</i>
ava+✓jan	ōzan-	ōzan	ouzan (murder)
areja-	arzān	arzān	arzān (cheap)

12.6. The medial *ç* of Old Persian changed into *z* in the Middle stage and the latter form has been retained in Modern Persian :

<i>Old</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Modern</i>
haçā	az	az (from)
rauçah-	rōz	rūz (day)

12.7. When the medial *ç* and *j* in Old Persian follow a nasal consonant (*m*, *n*) the *ç* changes into *j* in Pahlavānīk and Dari Persian but the *j* retains its original sound. In Manichaean Persian, however, both of them change into *z* :

<i>Old Persian</i>	<i>Pahlavānīk</i>	<i>Manichaean Persian</i>	<i>Dari Persian</i>
pança-	panj	panz	panj (five)
hanjamana-	anjaman	hanzaman	anjoman (com-
			pany
hanjāma-	anjām	hanzām	anjām (end)

12.8. The medial *x* in the Old stage was retained with its original sound in the following two stages :

<i>Old</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Modern</i>
φuxta-	suxt	sūxt (burnt)
baxta-	baxt	baxt (luck)

12.9. The medial *d* and *ð* of Old Persian are retained in Pahlavānīk but they change into *y* in Pārsīk and Dari :

<i>Old Persian</i>	<i>Pahlavānīk</i>	<i>Pārsīk</i>	<i>Dari Persian</i>
pāda-	pād	pāy	pāy (foot)
baða-	bōd	bōy	būy (smell)

12.10. The medial *r* of Old Persian does not generally change in the subsequent two stages :

<i>Old</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Modern</i>
karta-	kird	kard (did)
karma-	kirm	kerm (worm)

12.11. The middle *k* of Old Persian flanked by two vowels has changed into the voiced *g* in the Middle and Modern stages :

ākāpha-	āgāh	āgāh (aware)
apa- + ✓kan	abgan-	afgandan (to throw)

12.12. The suffixes '-ika' and 'aka' of Old Persian became '-ig' and '-ag' in the Middle stage after dropping their last vowel. In the Modern stage the concluding *g* is also dropped :

kāmaka-	kāmag	kāme(-a) (soured bread)
pairika-	parīg	parī (fairy)
āphūka-	āhūg	āhū (deer)

12.13. The *g* of Old Persian flanked by two vowels changes into *γ* in Pahlavānīk and into *y* in Pārsīk. The latter form has come down in Dari Persian also :

<i>Old Persian</i>	<i>Pahalvānīk</i>	<i>Pārsīk</i>	<i>Dari</i>
ni-+✓gauś	niyōś-	niyōś	neyūšīdan (to listen)
baga-	baγ	bay	beidoxt (Venus)

12.14. The nasal consonants *n* and *m* have not changed in the later two stages :

<i>Old</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Modern</i>
dānāka-	dānāg	dānā (learned)
kāma-	kām	kām (desire)

12.15. The *s* of Old Persian likewise has not changed in the following two stages :

<i>Old</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Modern</i>
gauśa-	gōś	gūś (ear)
maēša-	mēś	mīś (ram)
niśad-	niśast	neśast (sat)

## Consonant Clusters

13. Consonant clusters or successive consonants started a word in Old Iranian languages but it is not definite whether they were retained in Middle Persian or not because the Pahlavi script does not have special symbols for short vowels. Therefore, it is difficult to ascertain whether the two successive consonants are separated by a short vowel or not. It is, however, presumed that the old pronunciation continued to the beginning of the Middle stage and changed later on. No consonant cluster starts a Dari word. In other words, the Arabic grammarian said that no word can be started with a consonant not followed by a vowel. Words beginning with two successive consonants in Old Persian were later on either separated by a short vowel stretching the first syllable into two as in the following examples :

<i>Old</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Modern</i>
brātar-	brād(ar)	berādar (brother)
framānā-	framān	farmān (firman)

or a short vowel was prefixed to the word to avoid the succession of consonants in the first syllable :

<i>Old</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Modern</i>
brū-	brūg	ab-rū (eye-brow)

Sometimes both the forms are seen in Dari Persian :

stūnā—	istūn	estūn- sotūn (pillar)
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13.1. The cluster of *xś* in Old Persian dropped its *x* in the later two stages and retained *ś* only :

*Old*

xšap-  
xšaφra  
raoxšna-

*Middle*

šab  
šahr  
rōšn

*Modern*

šab (night)  
šahr (city)  
roušan (bright)

13.2. The cluster of *hv* in the beginning of Old Persian words changed into *xv* in Pārsīk and into *wx* in Pahlavānīk. In Modern Persian it has come down as *xv*:

hvaipašiya-  
hva-

xvēš  
xvad

*xvīš* (self)  
*xvod* (self)

13.3. The cluster of *xt* has remained the same in all the stages of Persian:

baxta-  
suxta-

baxt  
suxt(ag)

*baxt* (luck)  
*sūxte* (burnt)

Sometimes it changes into *ft*:

yuxta-

juft

*jofst* (pair)

13.4. The cluster of *pt* in old Persian changed to *ft* in the Middle and Modern stages:

hapta-  
tāpta-

haft  
tāftan

*haft* (seven)  
*tāftan* (to shine, etc.)

13.5. The cluster of *rš* dropped its *r* in the later stages:

paršti-  
karšvar-

pušt  
kišwar

*pošt* (back)  
*kešvar* (country)

13.6. The cluster of *fš* sometimes drops *f* in the following stages:

ššarma-

šarm

*šarm* (shame)

or a vowel is prefixed to it:

ššānay-

āfšāntan

*afšāndan* (to scatter)

or the two consonants are separated by a vowel:

fštāna-

pistān

*pestān* (breast)

The cluster of *fš*, however, does not change if it occurs at the end of a word:

drafša-

drafš

*derafš* (a standard)

13.7. The cluster of *φr* changes into *hr* in the Middle and Modern stages:

miφra-  
xšaφra-

mihr  
šahr

*mehr* (Sun)  
*šahr* (city)

13.8. The cluster of *rd* has changed into *ul* or *il* in Pārsīk and the same form has come down to Dari Persian:

dard

dil

*del* (heart)

hard-

hil

*hel* (leave)

bardunt-

baland

*boland* (high)

13.9. The cluster of *mn* drops its *n* in the Middle and Modern stages:

namna-  
kamna-

nam  
kam

*nam* (moisture)  
*kam* (little)

13.10. The cluster of *rt* always changes into *rd* in the next two stages :

<i>Old</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Modern</i>
martiya-	mard	<i>mard</i> (man)
kart-	kārd	<i>kārd</i> (knife)

13.11. The cluster of *rk* changes its *k* into the voiced *g* :

mahrka-	marg	<i>marg</i> (death)
varka-	walg	<i>barg</i> (leaf)

### Inversion (*Qalb*)

Sometimes successive consonants change their position such as :

13.12. *xr* occurring in the middle of a word is inverted into *rx* in Dari Persian :

φxra-	suxr	<i>sorx</i> (red)
çaxra-	çaxr	<i>çarx</i> (wheel)

13.13. The cluster of *fr* occurring in the middle of a word is inverted into *rf* :

vafra-	wafr	<i>barf</i> (snow)
jafra-	zafr	<i>zarf</i> (deep)

13.14. The medial *zr* is inverted into *rz* :

vazra-	wazr	<i>gorz</i> (mace)
namra-	narm	<i>narm</i> (soft)

13.15. The cluster of *mr* is sometimes inverted into *rm* :

namra-	narm	<i>narm</i> (soft)
mazyā-	mazy	<i>mayz</i> (marrow)

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*Three Periods of the Evolution and  
Development of Dari Persian*



### Three Periods of the Evolution and Development of Dari Persian

The oldest records in Dari Persian which have come down to us, except the few words or sentences or scattered verses quoted in Arabic histories or later Persian works, date from the middle of the fourth century A.H. (tenth century A.D.). The movement started under the Samanids to replace Arabic by Persian soon found many advocates, with the result that, a little later, under the Ghaznavids, Dari Persian became the literary language of the entire kingdom and hundreds of poets and writers composed poetry and compiled scientific, literary and historical works in this language. A few years later, under the Seljuqs, Persian replaced Arabic in administration and official correspondence.

1. Dari Persian, as we know, first flourished in the eastern and north-eastern region of Iran. Most of the Iranian poets and writers whose names and works are known to us, hailed from this part of Iran up to the time of Mongol invasion. They were generally attached to the Saffarid, Samanid, Ghaznavid, and Seljuq rulers or nobles. The poets whose verses have been quoted by Asadi in his *Loghat-e Fors*, composed in the middle of the fifth century Hijra (eleventh century A.D.) to illustrate obsolete words, belonged to one of the cities of Bokhārā, Samarqand, Herāt, Balkh, Merv, Tūs, Serakhs, Qāyen, Sīstān or to a place in Khorāsān or to the far-off cities of north-eastern Iran. During this period there were, no doubt, some poets and writers who belonged to central or western Iran, but they were either attached to the rulers of eastern Iran and naturally used the literary language of the area in their compositions or if they failed to reach the eastern court and remained in their home-towns they preferred to write in Dari Persian than in their local dialect on account of the position and popularity that Dari Persian had acquired. Among those who joined the eastern court Ghazāyeri of Rey, 'Onsor al-Ma'āli Keikāüs, the author of *Qābūs-Nāme* and Menuchehri of Dāmghān may be mentioned here. To the latter group, for instance, belong Qatrān of Tabrīz, Abol-

Fotūh of Rey and 'Ain al-Qozāt of Hamadān.

2. Dari Persian which had assumed the position of the official and literary language of Iran during the course of three centuries from the beginning of the fourth to that of the seventh century A.H., (tenth-thirteenth century A.D.) was influenced in its own turn by the dialects of eastern Iran, prevalent in that region, and by other non-Iranian languages. It either borrowed words and phrases from these dialects and languages or it was influenced by them in word-structure and syntax.

The greatest influence on Dari Persian was made by Arabic which was still regarded as the cultural language of the Islamic world, of which we shall speak later on. In addition to it, Turkish supplied a number of words to Persian particularly the titles of various Turkish tribes, terms for the military and tribal organisations, supplemented later on by other Turkish loan-words. Some Chinese words also found their way into Dari Persian through the traders who spoke East Iranian languages.<sup>1</sup>

Among the East Iranian languages from which Dari Persian borrowed numerous words during the first centuries of post-Islamic era, Sogdian is important to notice. A considerable quantity of records in this language were discovered in the beginning of the twentieth century, which reveal that it was a rich cultural language taken to the farthest points of East Asia through the traders of Sogdiana. The main centres of Sogdian language were Samarqand and Bokhārā situated between two rivers, Āmū and Syr<sup>2</sup> but the Sogdian speaking people were also found sparsely in the adjoining cities and towns.

Sogdian flourished in the above-named regions, to the fifth century Hijra (eleventh century A.D.) parallel to Dari Persian. It was during this period that Persian poets and writers, on account of their proximity and social intercourse, became familiar with this language and used some of its words in their compositions. The statement of Hamze Isfahāni that among the languages of the eastern cities the Balkhi words dominate Dari Persian,<sup>3</sup> is probably a reference to Sogdian. Similarly, Asadi Tūsi in the preface to his *Lexicon* refers to the poets who were otherwise quite learned but their knowledge of Persian was not satisfactory.<sup>4</sup> By this statement Asadi meant the Iranian poets of Persian who hailed from places other than Khorāsān and Transoxiana. This presumption is further confirmed by the statement of Nāser Khosrou who writes about Qatrān, "He composed good poetry but did not know Persian language very well. Once he came to me with the Dīvāns of Manjik and Daqīqi, read out from them and asked me to explain wherever he came across a difficult word."<sup>5</sup> The poets and writers of central and western Iran could not understand the local words of eastern and north-eastern regions used by the early Persian poets. These words naturally seemed unfamiliar and difficult to them.

Now it is known to us that many of such unfamiliar words used by the poets and writers of Khorāsān and Transoxiana in the fourth and fifth centuries A.H. (tenth and eleventh centuries A.D.) and explained correctly

or incorrectly by Asadi in his *Loghat-e Fors*, belong to Sogdian.<sup>6</sup> Since these words were not current or familiar in other parts of Iran they became obsolete by and by.

Apart from simple vocabulary, Dari prose and poetry of this period, composed in various parts of Iran, was also influenced by several other morphological, syntactic or pronunciation characteristics of the local dialects of Khorāsān and Transoxiana. All these factors, periodical or permanent, combined together to make Dari Persian the official language of Iran which the people of the entire country, though speaking different dialects, learnt in a systematic uniform way from their teachers and used it for literary works.

3. In the light of the evolution and development that Dari Persian has made in the course of one thousand years, it can be divided into three important periods :

1. Period of Genesis and Growth
2. Period of Standard Persian
3. Period of Transformation and Renaissance

## I. Period of Genesis and Growth

4. This period stretches from the earliest extant records in post-Islamic Dari Persian down to the beginning of the seventh century A.H. (thirteenth century A.D.). Some of the linguistic characteristics of this period are as follows :

4.1. The phonemes have not yet assumed a fixed uniform pronunciation. Writers and scribes recorded a word in accordance with their local and usual pronunciation, with the result that the same word has been recorded with different phonemes by the authors of different regions. A few words, for instance, are reproduced below which have been recorded in two or more different forms :

<i>dīvār/dīvāl</i>	(wall)
<i>ferešte/ferište</i>	(angel)
<i>dānešmand/danešūmand</i>	(learned)
<i>saxon/saxūn</i>	(word, speech)
<i>alfanjīdan/alfaxtan/alfaγdan</i>	(to gain)
<i>ferestādan/ferestīdan</i>	(to send)
<i>gostāxi/ostāxi</i>	(rudeness)
<i>šotor/oštor</i>	(camel)
<i>šenā/āšnā/ašnāh</i>	(swimming)
<i>xom/xonb</i>	(jar)
<i>bā/fā/vā</i>	(with)
<i>nešāndan/nešāxtan</i>	(to fix, etc.)
<i>dūzax/dūzax</i>	(hell)

*sūy/sūn* (towards)  
*xābānidan/xābanidān* (to cause to sleep)  
*pāšne/pašnā* (heel)  
*došvār/došxār* (difficult)  
*afkandan/aukandan* (to throw)  
*çanbar/šanbar* (circle)  
*zāj/zāg* (alum)  
*pādzahr/pāyzdahr* (bezoar-stone)  
*yābi/yāvi* (you find)

Many more words can be added to this list, of which we shall speak in detail later on in this chapter.

4.2. The character of writing or transcription also does not have uniform fixed rules in this period. It is a paradox that while the Iranian scholars had been devoting every attention to evolve exact rules for Arabic grammar and composed independent chapters on how to write Arabic words, *hamze*, etc., they did little to frame rules for writing their own national language, with the result that we come across different forms of the same word in the works belonging to this period.

A few examples are given below just to illustrate the point :

4.2.1. The long vowel ā has been transcribed in the following different forms in the manuscript of *Al-Abeneye 'an Haqā 'eq al-Adveye*, transcribed in 447 A.H.<sup>7</sup>

<i>ān</i> (that)	ان، آن، آن، اـن
<i>āb</i> (water)	اب، آب، آب، اـب

4.2.2. The consonant *p* is written both with one dot below it as well as with three dots :

*pas* (after)  
*poxte* (cooked)  
*pīrān* (old people)

4.2.3. ç when joined with another letter generally carries three dots but in some old manuscripts it also has one dot only :

چـشم، چـند، چـهار، چـرا

(*Tafsīr-e Sūrābādi* MS)<sup>8</sup>

چـون، چـنین، هـیچ، چـنانک

(*Tafsīr-e Qur'ān-e Pāk* MS)

4.2.4. *d* following a vowel is written without a dot in certain manuscripts but in other contemporary manuscripts it carries a dot on it, which probably shows the variation of pronunciation in different parts of the country :

*bedīn/beðīn* (with this, etc.)  
*xodāy/xoðāy* (lord)

padīd/paδīd (evident)  
 āyād/āyað (comes)  
 māde/māðe (female)  
 yābad/yābað (finds)  
 āmadan/āmaðan (to come)  
 bāmdād/bāmðāð (morning)

The same disorder is witnessed in joining or separating various letters of a word or two words with each other, which we shall discuss elaborately in its own place, giving references.

### Moods of Verb

4.3. In this period the verb is used in more Moods than what is seen in later periods. A verb is inflected in numerous ways to indicate a variety of Moods, some of which are common to the writers of all regions while others are not found in all the works of this period. This suggests that the latter were limited to a particular locality. The following Moods are noticed in the writings of this period :

*Precative* : It has the following two forms :

- (a) mabīnamā rū-e ū agar 'ahd beškanīm.  
 (If we break the oath we may not see his face.)  
 maferībadā šomā rā be-rahmat.  
 (May you not be deceived by his mercy.)
- (b) andūhgīn magardānād torā goftār-e īsān.  
 (Their words may not make you sad.)  
 xodā-e'azz va jall torā mageryānād.  
 (May not God, the High, make you shed tears.)

*Restrictive (conditional)* : It is also used in two forms :

- (a) agar mā bexāstīmī be jā-e šomā ferīstagān āfrīdimī.  
 (If we had wished so we would have created angels in your place.)  
 agar sāl bar cahār fasl nabūdī e'tedāl nabūdī.  
 (If the year did not have four seasons there would have been no equinox.)
- (b) agar dānestīmī ūrā bā xod āvardmānī.  
 (If we had known we would have brought him with us.)  
 ūrā agar dīdmānī gereftamī.  
 (If we had seen him we would have caught him.)

*Optative* :

kāške man gereftamī.  
 (O that I would have caught him !)  
 kāške man bedānamī ke...az man çé āyadi.  
 (I wish if I knew what could be done by me.)

*Admonitive* :

tā nagū'i ke hama-e jahān marā dośman and.  
 (Lest you say that the entire world is your enemy.)

tā bedānī ke xodāy āgāh ast be har rāz.

(That you know that God is aware of every secret.)

*Subjunctive :*

andar ān hašt řabānrūz čīzī nayāft ke bexordī.

(He found nothing to eat in those eight days and nights.)

karāhīyat dāst ke azān xordanī sāxtī.

(He disliked to make something to eat with that.)

az gorosnagī pāyam kār namī kard ke beraftamī.

(Out of hunger my legs did not work and I could not walk.)

*Vacillative :* This Mood is used to indicate such events that actually did not take place as narrating a dream. It is also used with verbs coming after Vacillative Particles such as *gū'i*, *pendārī*, *hamānā* (as if), etc.

*Narration of dream.*

yūsof xāb dīd ke jā'i nešaste būdī va qazībī be dast dāstī...qazīb be zamīn forū bordī. Berādarānāš hamçonān 'asāhā be zamīn forū bordandī. 'asā-e yūsof bebālīdī tā az hama-e 'asāhā bargodaštī va šāx va barg-e sabz pedīd āmadī, va dīgar 'asāhā dar janb-e ān maymūr gaštī.

(Yusof saw in a dream that he was sitting at a place holding a staff in his hands.. He thrust the staff into the ground. His brethren likewise thrust their staves into the ground. Suddenly, the staff of Yusof grew out till it passed beyond other staves; then green leaves appeared on it, and other staves were almost eclipsed by it.)

*Vacillation :*

gū'i ke zanjīrī dar dast va gardan-e īsān astī.

(As if they had a chain on their hands and neck.)

gū'i kasī īsān rā dar sajde afgandī.

(You would say that someone had made them prostrate.)

çonān astī ke hargez xod hamī našanūði.

(As if he never listened himself.)

4.4. *Hamī*, the prefix of the Continuative Past, the Aorist and Imperative, and its shortened form *mī* are used in Persian from the very beginning, but in the works composed or transcribed earlier *hamī* is more often used than *mī* although in comparatively later works or manuscripts *hamī* is rarely found.

4.5. The verb prefix 'be' is used with all the forms of the Past, the Aorist and Imperative and conveys a special sense, which we shall discuss later on in detail.

4.6. There is a particular kind of the Past formed by adding -ī or -ē to the Preterite. It indicates a habit or repetition of an act in the past. This verb must not be confounded with the Imperfect prefixed with *hamī* or *mī*, which suggests that an act was not completed in the past. The

Habitual Past is, sometimes, prefixed with *hamī* and suffixed with *-ī* to suggest repetition and continuation.

*Repetition :*

har rūzī bāmdād be xedmat-e peiyāmbar āmadandī va az peiyāmbar  
'elm šenidandi.

(Every morning they came to the prophet and listened to the words of knowledge from him )

har bāri vaqt-e ta'ām ḥonīn kardīmī.

(At the time of meals we always did like this.)

*Repetition and Continuation :*

amīr xalaf har rūz va har šab tāxtan hamī āvardī va hamī koštī.

(Amir Khalaf used to attack and kill daily.)

ū hame rūz peiyāmbar rā hamī goftī ke man janāza-e to hamī parvaram.

(He used to tell the prophet every day that he would look after his dead body.)

5. Some linguistic characteristics found in the texts of this period are limited to a manuscript only. In the light of similar cases we are inclined to believe that these characteristics are related to the local dialect of the scribe or author. Following are some examples :

5.1. In the manuscript of *Tabaqāt al-Sūfiye* transcribed by Khwāje 'Abdollāh Ansāri, a writer of the fifth century A.H. (eleventh century A.D.) we find, *īd* and *īd* instead of *ast* which seem to be the words of Heravi dialect because the Khwāje has used such words in his own works.

5.2. δ is sometimes added to the verb suffix *-ī* in order to indicate both repetition and continuation of an act in the past (cf. 4.6). Examples of such verbs are quite numerous in the *Tafsīr-e Sūrābādī*, and since this author hailed from Herāt we are inclined to believe that it is a local characteristic :

xāna'ī būd ke ya'qūb benā karde būd. dar ānjā šoδīd va rūy farā dīvār kardīd va bar yūsuf nouhe mī-kardīd, xālī az ahl-e beit.

(There was a house built by Ya'qūb. He used to visit it, and turning his face towards the wall he lamented for Yūsuf, while there was nobody from his own family.)

5.3. The Perfect is, sometimes, found as *raftastī*, *begoftasti*, *bexoftasti* for the second person singular instead of the usual *rafta'ī*, *gofta'ī*, *xofta'ī*. The statement of Maqdesi that the people of Neshāpur add unnecessary *s* to the verbs<sup>10</sup> led Bahār to believe that such verbs are particular to the Neshāpūri dialect and hence he calls them Neshāpūri verbs.<sup>11</sup>

Since such verbs have been repeatedly used by other writers and especially poets, they hardly seem to be of the Neshāpūri dialect. However, they belong to a dialect where the Perfect has its own form as against the usual Persian Perfect.

6. The structure of verbs in this period varies with that in the later

periods. For instance :

6.1. A number of simple verbs were used in this period which became obsolete later on and were replaced by compound verbs. For example :

*āxtan* (to draw out)  
*āgandan* (to fill)  
*āsūdan* (to rest)  
*āyaštan* (to smear)  
*āyālidan* (to excite)  
*alfaxtan* (to gain)  
*oubāštan* (to fill)  
*kāstan* (to lessen)  
*godāxtan* (to melt)  
*šekifstan* (to wonder)  
*zadūdan* (to polish)  
*xalīdan* (to prick)  
*besūdan* (to handle, rub, etc.)  
*bayūsīdan* (to hope)  
*tāsīdan* (to be sad, etc.)

6. Verb prefixes such as *be*, *bar*, *andar*, *dar*, *farā*, *farāz*, *forūd*, *forū* were quite common in this period and conveyed some delicate shades of meaning. By and by, prefixed verbs lost their popularity and were replaced by compound verbs consisting of a noun or adjective (both Persian and Arabic) and a simple verb. For example :

<i>bedāštan</i>	=	<i>negāh dāštan</i>	}	'to stop, hold'.
<i>bar āmadan</i>	=	<i>motavaqqef kardan</i>		
	=	<i>tolū‘ kardan</i>		'to rise'.
<i>andar šodan</i>	=	<i>bālā raftan</i>	}	'to enter'.
	=	<i>dāxel šodan</i>		
<i>dar āmadan</i>	=	<i>vāred šodan</i>		'to come in'.
<i>farā kardan</i>	=	<i>jelou andāxtan</i>		'to push forward'.
<i>farāz āmadan</i>	=	<i>esteqbāl kardan</i>	}	'to receive'.
	=	<i>piš āmadan</i>		

These prefixes when used with a simple verb add new meaning to it. For instance, *bebūdan* conveys the meaning 'to pass', 'pass away', 'to finish', etc. *Berasīdan* means 'to end', 'to finish', but *bar-rasīdan* is 'to investigate', 'to make research'. *xāndan* means 'to call', 'to summon', but *bar-xāndan* is 'to read out'.

7. In this period the Indicative and Subjunctive Moods of the Aorist do not differ in form.

7.1. The Aorist is sometimes used without any prefix to indicate either Mood :

*Indicative :*

īn āb rā az ān 'āsī gūyand ke jāneb-e rūm ravad.

(This water is called sinful because it flows towards Rome.)

*Subjunctive :*

sangī bar dāst tā bar sar-e ān benā nehad.

(He raised a stone to lay the foundation on it.)

7.2. Similarly the Aorist with *be* is likewise used to convey both Moods :

*Indicative :*

jomle rā be-xānad az rūy-e da'vat va gorūhī rā berānad behokm-e ezhāre-e mašīyat.

(He calls all the people towards himself and drives away some of them in order to show his will.)

*Subjunctive :*

soxanī ke andar touhīd begūyad va mar ān rā setāyeš pendārad nekūhes bāšad.

(If he says something on monotheism and regards it a praise to God it would be taken as condemnation.)

7.3. The Aorist prefixed with *hamī* or *mī* is also used for both Moods.

*Indicative :*

īsān mar torā namī šenāšand.

(They do not recognise you.)

*Subjunctive :*

sāleh hamī xāhad tā īn farzandān-e mā košte mī šavand.

(Sāleh wants that all our sons should be killed.)

8. *Hamī* or *mī* is often used as an adverb. In most of the cases it is taken as an independent word and had not been yet reduced to the position of mere verb prefix.

8.1. *Hamī* is sometimes used as an adverb conveying the meaning of 'always, continuously, regularly', etc.

hamī lagadī bar qefāy-e ū zad.

(He kicked him continuously on his nap.)

hamī dar pīš-e kārvān parī bar zamīn zad.

(It struck its wings on the ground before the caravan.)

yūsuf hamī be ašk va xūn āyaše be xodā-e ta'ālā benālid.

(Yūsuf lamented before God in blood and tears.)

8.2. '*Hamī*' and '*mī*' sometimes precede another verb prefix :

mahmūdeyān az dam-e īn mard mī bāz našodand.

(The followers of Mahmūd did not hold back at the claim of this man.)

yakī mard dīdam ke nūr azū tā āsmān hamī bar šod.

(I saw a man from whose face diffused lustre that filled the earth and the sky.)

dūd mī dīd ke hamī barāmad.

(He saw smoke coming out.)

8.3. 'Hamī' and 'mī' sometimes precede the negative verb prefix :

mā ūrā dīdīm ke hamī mei xord bā motrebān va namāz hamī nakard.

(We saw him drinking wine with the singers and offering no prayer.)  
vaqtī būd ke xodā-e ta'älā mūsā rā hamī nadīd.

(There was a time when God even did not look towards Moses.)  
tāqat-e bar kaśīdan mī nadāst.

(He did not have the power to pull out.)

soleimān bar xod negarīst, çonān şod ke xod rā mī naşanāxt.

(Solomon looked at him and it so happened that he did not recognize himself.)

8.4. The Aorist is sometimes separated from *mī* or *hamī* by a few words :

xodāvand-e ta'älā mī be to mobāhāt konad.

(God takes pride in you.)

9. There are three forms of Imperative in Persian and each of them conveys a special sensive :

*mī gūy*

*begūy*

*gūy*

10. In the earlier works of this period the 'Successive Verb' (Fe'l-e tābe') is often used in the form of infinitive:

torā az mā nabāyad āmüxtan va porsīdan.

(You should not learn and ask from us.)

pagāh xāstan 'ādat bāyad kardan.

(One should form the habit of early rising.)

But in the works composed comparatively later, the short infinitive is more often used :

be doşvārī dam tavānad zad.

(One could hardly boast of it.)

çūn mottaqī rā bei'at xāstand kard ū emtenā' kard.

(When they wanted to take the pledge of obedience from Mottaqi he resisted.)

farq nadānestandī kard meyān-e jādūy va mo'jezat.

(They could not differentiate between magic and miracle.)

Afterwards the Subjunctive Present totally replaced both the above forms ; the former being completely obsolete and the latter rarely used :

xāhad ke pāygāh-e İṣān beşanāsad.

(He wants to realize their status.)

bāyad ke hīç sostī nakonī.

(You should not show any laziness.)

mard bāyad ke bā doşmanān zendagī bekond.

(A man should live even with his enemies.)

10.1. The Successive Verb is sometimes used in the form of the Preterite suffixed with *-i* which is equivalent to the Subjunctive Present of later periods :

*karāhīyat dāst ke azān xordanī sāxtī.*

(He disliked to make something edible from it.)

11. The following characteristics in the use of nouns and adjectives are noticed in the Persian of this period :

11.1. Arabic adjective found its way to Dari Persian prior to the abstract noun because in most of the cases the abstract noun is formed by adding *-ī* to the Arabic adjectives :

*xajel + ī = xajlat* (bashfulness)

*śojā' + ī = śojā'at* (boldness)

*mobde' + ī = 'ebdā'* (innovation)

11.2. Arabic Broken Plurals are less in use in this period than what is seen afterwards. Arabic singulars are pluralized by adding the Persian suffixes *-ān* or *-hā* :

*'ālemān = 'olamā* (scholars)

*tabībān = atebbā* (physicians)

*śaxshā = aśxās* (persons)

11.3. Arabic Broken Plurals are sometimes taken as singular and are made plural with the addition of Persian plural suffix :

*ahvālhā* instead of *ahvāl* (conditions)

*ālāthā* instead of *ālāt* (tools)

*'ajā'ebhā* instead of *'ajā'eb* (wonders)

*alhānhā* instead of *alhān* (modulations)

12. Prepositions and Conjunctions have different forms and meanings from what is seen in later periods.

12.1. *Abā, andar, abar, abāz, and andarūn* are used in some of the texts of this period in place of *bā, dar, bar, bāz* and *darūn*.

12.2. A noun is sometimes flanked by two synonymous prepositions or rather a preposition and a post-position :

*be-xāne andarūn* (inside the house)

*be-küh bar* (on the hill)

*be-śahr andar* (in the city)

*be-kūy bāz* (towards the street)

12.3. Some prepositions are used in a sense not found in later periods.  
For instance;

*be* for *bā*:

*be neize ūrā az zīn bar gereft.*

(He raised him from the saddle with his spear.)

*bā* instead of *be*:

*bā yād-e ū āvardam.*

(I reminded him.)

*bāz* for *sūy*:

bāz-e xāne āmad.

(He came to the house.)

*ke* for *zīrā* :

malek bīrūn nayāmad ke ranjūr būd.

(The king did not come out because he was sick.)

*rā* as a sign of the subject :

śomā rā āmadid.

(You came.)

13. The various components of a sentence do not have a fixed uniform order in this period. For instance, an Indicative sentence generally concludes with the verb but in several cases, probably on account of stylistic considerations, the verb precedes the adjective, adverb, prepositional phrase or the subject :

sandūqī pedī āmad sar gośāde.

(There appeared a box with its top open.)

ketābī tasnīf karde būdam andar 'elm-e īn tāyefe.

(I had composed a book about these people.)

khāja-e emām rā porsīdānd az haqiqat-e 'elm.

(They asked the Khwāje about the reality of knowledge.)

14. There are still several notable points regarding the conformity of verb and subject, adjective and the qualified noun and other parts of a sentence with one another. But we have simply given examples of the linguistic characteristics of the First Period of Dari Persian, designated as the Period of Genesis and Growth by us and the details including the bibliography and sources will be given in Book II.

## 2. Period of Standard Persian

15. The unimaginable havoc caused by the Mongols in the first quarter of the seventh century A.H. (thirteenth century A.D.) completely levelled with the ground all the cities of Khorāsān, with the result that this province which had been the cradle of Persian literature for more than three centuries, lost throughout the Mongol period its position as the chief centre of Persian.

The writers and poets born and brought up in that land, who escaped the Mongol ravage, fled to South and West Iran and sought refuge there. Bahā Valad, and his son Jalāloddin Balkhi (Rūmi), Shams Qeis Rāzi, Seif of Farghāna and Kamāl of Khojānd are only some of these refugees.

On the other hand, most of the poets and writers who rose to fame during the second half of the seventh century A.H. (thirteenth century A.D.) and afterwards, hailed from the central, southern and western Iran. Sa'di and Wassāf al-Hazrat of Shirāz, Rashīdoddīn Fazlollāh of Hamadān, Nāser Monshi of Kermān, Abol-Qāsem of Kāshān and Sharafoddīn 'Ali of Yezd are only a few to name.

For more than one hundred years the Mongols ruled Iran in full glory and power, from the cities of Marāghe, Soltāniye and Tabrīz, all situated in West Iran. But after the Mongol empire lost its supremacy to several independent rulers, Shīrāz, Kermān, Isfahān and Baghdād became the centres of Persian literature. Since these cities lay far from Khorāsān, the main centre of Persian literature, Dari Persian had little popularity there among the masses who spoke various local dialects. The educated few alone learnt Persian and used it for official, administrative, academic and literary works. They, too, used their own local dialects for general conversation. Thus Persian remained only an acquired language for them and never assumed the position of their mother-tongue.

Shams Qeis Rāzi, for instance, tells us that the people of Iraq do not enjoy Dari poetry and prefer their dialect poetry to it.<sup>12</sup> Some verses and hemistiches are found in the *Kolliyāt* of Sa'di in the local dialect of Shīrāz.<sup>13</sup> Hormām sang a few ghazals in the dialect of Tabrīz,<sup>14</sup> and Auhadi has some ghazals in the Isfahāni dialect.<sup>15</sup> There is a ghazal of Hāfez in mixed Persian and Shīrāzi dialect.<sup>16</sup> In other poetical works, too, we come across lines in the dialects of Neirīz and Shīrāz. All this shows evidently that the language these poets and writers used for conversation was other than Dari Persian which they employed for literary creation.

As a result, the Persian of this period underwent some changes the salient features of which are given below :

16. The literary Persian learnt from a teacher was comparatively ordered and uniform in respect of pronunciation, word-structure and syntax.

16.1. In this period, the phonemes assumed fixed permanent forms in transcription. Now the same word is not written in different forms by different authors and scribes; rather one of its various forms is accepted as standard Persian and others are rejected as obsolete, rare or sub-standard. For instance, 'dīvāl', 'difāl', 'dīfār' and 'dīvār' are the different forms of the same word, of which only the last one 'dīvār' was accepted as standard Persian. Other forms are no longer seen in literary Persian although they might have been or might be in use in local dialects.

16.2. Verb inflections and Moods tend towards simplicity in this period. Some of the Conditional, Optative or Precative Moods are almost given up. Inflectional forms such as 'mabīnamā', 'makonād', 'maravād', or 'agar dīdamī goftamī' are no longer used in the literary prose of this period, except when the author is quoting from an earlier work or he is consciously imitating the old style.

16.3. The Indicative and Subjunctive Presents are now clearly differentiated. The former is always prefixed with *mī* (*hami* is losing its popularity day by day) while the latter is prefixed with *be* and thus both of them assume their own individual structure.

16.4. The verbal prefix *be* is seldom used in this period with the Preterite, and if it is occasionally used, it conveys no special sense. That is

why it was called *bā-e zīnat* (Decorative be) by the later grammarians.

16.5. The Imperative is now generally prefixed with *be* and the old prefixes *hami* and *mī* become obsolete.

17. ‘*xvāstan*’ or its shorter from ‘*xvāst*’ was used in the previous period both to indicate the Future Tense or to mean ‘will and want’. In this period it is used in two distinct forms. When it means ‘to will’ it is followed by Subjunctive Present :

‘*mī xvāham beyāyam*’ (I want to come.)

But for indicating the Future Tense it is followed by a short infinitive:

‘*xvāham āmad*’ (I shall come).

Thus the Future Tense came into being in Persian.

18. A definite direct object is now followed by *rā* and the earlier sign *mar*, taken probably from a local dialect, becomes totally obsolete.

19. In the previous period Arabic Broken Plurals were again pluralized by adding the Persian signs of -ān and -hā. But now they become very rare in this period.

20. During the Mongol reign of about 200 years, a great number of Mongolian and Turkish words, mostly military and administrative terms, found their way into Persian. The Mongols commanded the military force themselves, but the ministerial and revenue posts were always held by the Iranians who, in their turn, learnt Mongolian,<sup>17</sup> and used its terms in official correspondence.

‘Atā Malek Joveini, the author of *Tārīk-e Jahāngoshāy*, who is sore about the state of affairs and his fellow-beings, says, “Now the entire world in general and the country of Khorāsān in particular...are devoid of scholars adept in sciences and adorned with art and culture. Lie and falsehood have taken the place of prayer and sermon. Now the knowledge of the Mongolian language and script is regarded as the height of scholarship.”<sup>18</sup>

Below is given a list of the Mongolian words used repeatedly in the historical works produced under the Mongols, who were incidentally very fond of historical literature.<sup>19</sup>

- soyūryāmīši* (favour, benediction)
- ulūs* (a tribe, people)
- tūsāmīši* (appointment to a post)
- inju* (a royal domain, crown lands)
- ināq* (a king's counsellor or companion)
- qeyā* (personal bodyguard)
- uljāmīši* (act of submission and homage)
- mangala* (the vanguard).
- bārunyār* (the right wing of an army)
- jārunyār* (the left wing of an army)
- soyūryāl* (fief, feudal tenure)
- sāvari* (a gift offered in homage)
- joba* (a coat of mail, armour)

- yalqār* (night attack, expedition).  
*qušūn* (army, force).  
*gürkān* (son-in-law).  
*namāri* (a kind of tax).  
*nūyān* (an army commander).  
*jāsāq* (a royal mandate, law).  
*jānqi* (a council, agreement).  
*qarāval* (a sentinel.)  
*evādāji* (a gate-keeper).  
*tamā* (reinforcement).  
*tamāji* (commander of the reinforcement force).  
*axtāji* (lord of stable).  
*āqā* (elder brother).  
*āyā* (princess).

After the fall of the Mongol empire there was complete anarchy in the country for some time. It was brought to an end by the equally barbarous invasion of Tamerlane whose successors ruled Iran till the rise of the Safavid Shah Ismā'īl. The Timurid rule, towards the end of this dynasty, was confined to the eastern Iran while the southern, western and north-western Iran was held by Āq-qoyūnlu and Qarā-qoyūnlu. In this period, too, some Uzbek and Turkish words and terms found their way into Persian. Under the Safavids also, a number of Turkish terms pertaining to military and administrative matters were used in Persian as seen from historical and other works. Some of these words are given below :<sup>20</sup>

- aqyāyqūrcisi* (an archer, a Bowman)  
*qoul-begi* (commander of royal slaves)  
*evāqoli* (a born slave)  
*qöllarāqāsi* (chief of the royal slaves)  
*ōnbāši* (commander of ten)  
*qitūl* (military camp)  
*avīmāq* (a tribe)  
*qılıç qūrcisi* (a swordman)  
*eşik āqāsi bāsi* (chief of the royal guards)  
*gök dalāq* (dressed in blue)  
*bāsmiāq qūrcisi* (keeper of the shoes)  
*min bāsi* (commander of one thousand)  
*bèglarbègi* (a great lord, lord of lords)  
*nasaqçibāsi* (chief executioner)  
*tüsmälbāsi* (a table-decker)  
*yarāq* (arms, weapons)  
*qāpūçi* (guard, gate-keeper)  
*yasāval* (herald, master of ceremonies)  
*qara yarāq* (person in-charge of supply)  
*yasaqçı* (officer in-charge of military supply)

*qürçibāši* (keeper of the armoury).  
*yoqūrt* (yoghourt, dairy products).  
*yūzbāši* (commander of one hundred).

It is important to note that such loan-words were not accepted for ever, and after a dynasty came to an end, the terms adopted under it had also their exit. The alien words and terms never became an integral part of Persian poetry and literary prose. Häfez lived towards the close of the Mongol reign, but he has used only a few Mongolian words, *tamrā* (order) and *yaryū* (sergeant) being among them.

Similarly, Turkish terms used under the Safavids fell out of use after the fall of that dynasty and though some of them, such as military terms, continued to the end of the Qājār rule, they have also been replaced by Persian in recent times.

21. Sentence construction was regulated during this period. Previously various parts of a sentence had no definite order but now they became comparatively regulated and uniform.

22. The Period of Standard Persian continued from the beginning of the seventh to the end of the thirteenth century A.H. (thirteenth-nineteenth century A.D.). However, the process of transformation through which Persian passed during these seven centuries was neither simultaneous nor uniform in the works of all writers. During this long period, literary Persian underwent fast or slow changes but the poets and writers of this period observed some fixed rules and regulations.

The individual style of each poet and writer had its own share in shaping the linguistic patterns of this period. Some of the writers imitated their predecessors and maintained the old style while others used the current and prevalent literary language. A few literary men of the Qājār period revived the style of the Ghaznavid and Seljuq periods and wrote a language which is evidently imitative and artificial. Poets like Fath 'Ali Khan Sabā, Mahmūd Khan, Sarūsh, Qā'āni, etc., along with a number of prose-writers and historians, belong to this group.

23. The political, social and economic condition of Iran underwent drastic and far-reaching changes after the foundation of the Qājār dynasty which in its turn made a deep impact on the literary language of the country and ushered in the third period of Persian language.

### 3. Period of Transformation and Renaissance

24. The confusion and chaos that ruled the entire Iran after the fall of the Safavid dynasty came to an end with the rise of Āgā Mohamad Khan, the founder of the Qājār dynasty, who established again a strong central government. The Qājār kings continued their hold in spite of numerous risings, internal revolts and external wars particularly with Russia in the reign of Fath 'Ali Shah, and the problems of foreign infiltration. As a

result of these factors including the ever-growing contacts with Europe, the political, social and economic life of the country underwent a great change which influenced the literary and official language as well.

25.1. As the central government became strong, groups of writers and scholars rushed to the capital from every corner of the country in order to seek civil and administrative posts or to find a patron. Thus assembled in Tehran the select educated men of Iran who had come here from different regions of the country to serve the government through various civil and administrative posts. Notable among these immigrants who held important government posts are, for instance, Mo'tamad-od-Doule, Mirza Abol-Hasan Shīrāzī, Mirza Bozorg, Mirza Abol-Qāsem Qā'em Maqām, Amīr Kabīr Farāhāni, Mirza Aga Khan Nūri Māzandarāni, Mirza Shafī' Nūri, Amīr Nezām Garrūsi, Hāj Mirza Agāsī Eravāni, Nezām-od-Doule Isfahāni, Farrokh Khan Kāshāni and Mirza Yūsuf Āshteyāni. Most of the government officers who served in Tehran had come from different towns. As against this, some of them were posted in distant towns to serve the government.

Like government servants, poets and writers of this period also flocked to the capital from various parts of Iran. Thus we find in Tehran poets like Mejmar, Neshāt and Sarūsh from Isfahān, Fath 'Ali Khan Sabā, Mahmūd 'Ali Khan, the poet-laureate and 'Abbās Qoli Khan Sepahr from Kāshān, Vesāl, Vaqār, Dāvari and Qā'āni from Shīrāz, Shehāb from Torshīz, Yaghmā from Jondoq and Forūghi from Bastām.

25.2. The local people of Tehran spoke a dialect which was till late heard in the villages of Shamīrān. On the other hand, the civil servants used a language which was akin to the literary and official Persian although it was not free from local influence in respect of pronunciation and vocabulary. A common man could easily recognize the formal language from his ordinary dialect, and since it was used by the masters of the pen it was nicknamed 'pen-language' (*lafz-e qalam*).

25.3. Social and economic factors helped in the development of cities and in the growth of urban population, which was no doubt gradual and quite slow in the beginning. By and by, an urban middle class came into being which was quite distinct from the upper and lower classes. It was eager to acquire information about national and international problems, to think about social matters and to learn and study.

25.4. Political and commercial contacts with the West brought about a change in the thinking of the Iranian elite. From the middle of the Qājār period, trade and commerce increased between South Iran and British India on one hand, and North Iran and Russia via the Caucasus, on the other. Now it was easier to travel to Russia and other European countries. Many Iranian travellers published their travel-books and since they had to describe new things and situations they had to use new words and phrases.

25.5. Foreign instructors were invited from France, England, Austria, Russia and Sweden to train the Iranian army. Then came the foreign

advisers from Belgium and America to advise the government on administrative matters. This introduced a number of European words in Persian or necessitated coining of new terms in our language. A technical college, Dārol-Fonūn, was founded in Tehran by Amīr Kabīr where European teachers taught various subjects. Thus the scope of such terms, military, civil, political, social, scientific and technical, both indigenous and foreign, widened considerably. Later on, with the opening of schools and colleges and the compilation of Persian textbooks on various subjects, the number of such terms increased to several thousands.

25.6. The introduction of the printing press in Iran is reckoned as an important factor of transforming Persian. Formerly, works of great Iranian poets and writers were generally published in India and occasionally in Turkey. That was the only printed material in Persian available to the Iranian scholars. With the setting up of the printing press in Iran, not only was classical Persian literature published in the country but also a number of newspapers and journals were brought out. Moreover, the constitutional movement accelerated the pace of journalism and contributed to create a new style of journalistic Persian.

25.7. Translation of literary and scientific works from European languages into Persian was first started in the reign of Nāseroddīn Shah. Soon it caught the imagination of the intellectuals, and in our time it has received greatest popularity. These translations were helpful in introducing many new words and techniques of sentence formation in Persian.

25.8. As a result of these political, social and economic changes, the aims and objects of the poets and writers also changed. In earlier times they wrote for the select few, consisting of courtiers, scholars and literary men. But now the number of readers was ever on the increase including those who could not read themselves but others read out for them. A writer, specially of political and social affairs, had to take into consideration the large number of his readers and adopt a style which could be easily understood by all of them and produce the desired effect.

26. These factors brought about several linguistic changes in Persian of which the significant ones are as follows :

26.1. Ornate, flowery and artificial style, which was hardly communicative and was beyond the reach of the common man, gave way to simple and easily intelligible Persian.

26.2. A series of European words with their original or slightly modified form entered Persian language. For instance :<sup>21</sup>

- Qonsol* (consul)
- Rāport* (report)
- Gomrok* (customs)
- Sāldāt* (soldier)
- Telgrāf* (telegraph)
- Telfon* (telephone)
- Poltik* (politics)

- Kapsūl* (capsule)  
*Lōcōmōtīf* (locomotive)  
*Māśīn* (machine)  
*Jenerāl* (general)  
*Colonel* (colonel)

26.3. A number of Persian words were now used as equivalent to European words and conveyed new meaning, different from previous usage :<sup>22</sup>

- vazīr-e moxtār* (minister plenipotentiary)  
*safīr* (ambassador)  
*sefārat* (embassy)  
*'adliye* (judiciary)  
*nazmiye* (administration)  
*baladiye* (municipality)  
*qānūm* (law)  
*hoqūq* (law, salary)  
*bein al-melal* (United Nations)  
*rāh āhan* (railway)  
*īstgāh* (station)  
*forsūdgāh* (airport)

26.4. Literary Persian had so far kept itself aloof from slang words but now many writers used them freely. A few words, for example, are given below :<sup>23</sup>

- qeşqereq* (fuss, noise)  
*qürt dādan* (to swallow)  
*kük būdan* (to be angry)  
*sūt* (whistle)  
*part* (throw, fall)  
*çort* (nap)  
*lülehang* (ever, water-pot)  
*left-o-lis* (sponging on others)  
*çārvādār* (master of a beast of burden)

26.5. One of the linguistic characteristics of this period is to quote verbatim passages or conversation in local dialects, something which is extremely rare in classical literature. The following example is taken from the *Sūr-e Isrāfil*<sup>24</sup> to illustrate the urban feminine conversation, under the title of *Qondrūn* :

vāy, xāk be saram konen, mardīke nāmahram hama jā mo dīd.  
vāy, elāhī, rūm seyā ū.  
(Shame on me ! The stranger saw me through and through. Oh God, I am doomed.)

The other example relates to the local dialect of Kāshān. The wife of

the right-hand neighbour calls out from her roof top :<sup>25</sup>

nana Hasani ?

çeya ?

'amū hüsây çetouna ?

xâk tu saram konan, tamouna.

çetou tamouna ?

dandûnaš kalüça, çâšâš be tâqa ?

ye qaða torbat tu halqaš kon.

mîgam tamouna.

nagu, nagu, mage jū dast-e mon-o-to 'a ?

Jū dast-e hosâyen mazlûma.

(Hasan's Mummy ?

What's that ?

How is uncle Hosein ?

Curse me ! He is finished.

How finished ?

His teeth are jammed; his eyes are fixed.

Put some holy soil in his mouth.

I say he is finished.

Don't say, don't say. Is life in our hands ?

It is in the hand of Hosein, the Martyr.)

26.6. A characteristic of the Persian of this period is a tendency of the writers to avoid the use of alien, specially Arabic, words and to replace them by pure Persian. This trend developed from the reign of Nâseroddîn Shah as a result of the national and patriotic attitude of the intellectuals. The historians of the early Qâjâr period connected the geneological tree of the Qâjâr with the Safavids on account of the honourable and glorious position the latter still enjoyed among the Iranians. But the story they narrated to show that Mohammad Hasan Khan Qâjâr was the son of the Safavid ruler Sultan Hosein Shah was hardly credible. Moreover, some Qâjâr princes regarded themselves as descendants of the Mongols and preferred Mongol names like Chingîz, Ugtâi Qâ'ân, Hulâku, etc., for their sons. But soon national feelings replaced the foreign loving attitude. So the historians again connected the family-tree of the Qâjâr rulers with Bahrâm Chûbîn through the Samanids, in order to show that the Qâjârs were pure Iranians and the lawful heirs to the throne.

From this time some intellectuals wrote pure Persian as a reaction against grand ornate Persian, full of Arabic synonyms. A Qâjâr prince compiled the history of Iran in pure Persian.<sup>26</sup> Yaghmâ of Jondoq followed the same purist style in his letters.<sup>27</sup> From the close of Nâseroddîn Shah's reign writers like Mirza Aga Khan Kermâni and Âkhondzâde propagated the point that freedom fighting and patriotism went hand in hand. But the movement that wielded the greatest influence on the process of Persianization, was actually started in the reign of Reza Shah, the Great, under whom most of the Arabic and Turkish military terms were replaced by

Persian equivalents, some of which were newly coined. Later on, an Academy of Letters, *Farhangestān*, was established which has substituted most of the Arabic administrative terms with Persian and is now busy in preparing Persian terminology for technology and sciences.

26.7. With the foundation of universities in Iran, Persian became the medium of instruction for higher studies. It introduced a number of new terms so far not used in our language. Some of these terms were borrowed in original from European languages while others were coined in Persian or Arabic by the author or translator himself.

26.8. Translations from European languages became instrumental in introducing new stylistic patterns in Persian. For instance, adverbs like 'mota, assefāne' (unfortunately), 'xōsbaxtāne' (fortunately), 'badbaxtāne' (unfortunately), etc., do not simply modify the verb but are related to the whole sentence and may be taken as substitute for an adverbial clause. For example, the word 'badbaxtāne' in the sentence

badbaxtāne seił āsīb-e zeyādi be keśāvarzān vāred āvard.

(Unfortunately the flood brought great misfortune to the farmers.) may be replaced by an adverbial clause like

mūjeb-e-badbaxtīst ke seił...

or

seił...āvard va īn mūjeb-e badbaxtīst.

Such sentence-pattern, not found in the Persian of early period, was introduced as a result of literal translation from French or English into Persian.

26.9. From syntactic point of view, sentence building in this period became uniform and inflexible. The requirements of life, speed of work, journalistic style and other factors no longer permitted a writer to sit with patience and employ a style replete with literary merits and in accordance with varying situations.

27. The characteristics mentioned above are generally true of the written Persian of the Third Period up to Shahrīvar, 1320 (August-September, 1941). The subsequent period is distinguished for the ever-increasing rate of publications, the emergence of a large number of writers, greater familiarity with the latest ideas of the world, unusual expansion of learning institutions and spread of literacy to the far-flung towns and villages. As a result of all these factors, the above mentioned characteristics became more accelerated and broad-based, of which we shall speak in detail later on.

### **Research Method Adopted in This Work Problems and Difficulties**

28. This investigation is based on diligent research. We have drawn

no pre-conceived conclusion and illustrated it with examples. As against it, the basic texts of each of the three periods were first studied thoroughly; examples were collected, compared and analysed and then only conclusions were drawn. A list of the texts selected from each period for quotation is given in the beginning of the chapter dealing with that period.

29. This work does not aim at exploring and discussing all the morphological and syntactic points noticed in Persian language during the last one thousand years; rather, we have tried to point out, as suggested by the title of the work, the nature of changes and development of Persian language. Therefore, while discussing a period we have pointed out only such examples that are related to linguistic change and have not discussed such characteristics that are common to all the three periods.

30. Some grammatical and lexical characteristics are common to all the works of a particular period in spite of the fact that their authors lived in different regions of the country. Such characteristics may be called historical or periodic. Others are limited to a few works only and are not common to all. It shows that these characteristics, in addition to their historical significance, are also governed by the particular environment of an author. We may call them geographical or regional characteristics.

We take, for instance, two works of the same title *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, one compiled by Hojveiri towards the close of the fourth century A.H. (tenth century A.D.) and the other in the fifth (eleventh) century by Sajestāni. They differ in several grammatical points. In the *Kashf al-Mahjūb* of Hojveiri,<sup>28</sup> the sign *mar* generally comes before a direct object.

peiyambar mar 'alā al-hazrami rā be γazv farestād:

(The prophet sent 'Alā to fight the holy war.)

mar ūrā tavāzo' kard.

(He entertained him properly.)

vei mar īsān rā ta'ām dādī.

(He gave them food.)

But this sign is missing from the direct object in the *Kashf al-Mahjūb* of Sajestāni :<sup>29</sup>

īsān rā bedān ma'reft nabūd.

(They had no knowledge of it.)

heivān rā hamī ārāyand.

(They decorate the animal.)

ū mardomān rā rāh nemāyad.

(He guides the people.)

This variation is, therefore, not related to a period of history; its cause should be rather found out in the characteristics of the dialect of a particular region of the vast Iranian land. We have tried to determine, so far as possible, the geographical nature of a grammatical point. Thus some

grammatical characteristics of Dari Persian may be shown with the help of a geographical chart.

31. This research is not based on poetry. No example has been given from a verse because the Persian poet, like the poet of any other language, always uses an older language. In other words, poetry is more traditional than prose. In the fourth and fifth centuries A.H. (tenth-eleventh century A.D.) the language of Persian poetry was probably not much different from its contemporary prose, but in the ensuing periods, while prose assumed comparatively modern diction, poetry retained the old grammatical characteristics.

For instance, if we critically examine a work in mixed prose and poetry we shall see that the versified part retains the linguistic characteristics of the previous period but the prose portion is almost devoid of them.

Now, if we analyse the grammatical changes of Persian language on the basis of poetry alone we may be inclined to believe that this language, during the course of one thousand years, has undergone no particular change because the poetry of Qā'āni, Sarūsh and Bahār is linguistically not much different from that of 'Onsori, Farrokhi and Menūchehri.

32. However, the method adopted by us involves several problems that must be taken into consideration. The most intriguing of these problems is that the majority of Persian sources and records is not authentic. For instance, we quote an example from *Tārikh-e Beihāqi* of Abol-Fazl to illustrate a grammatical point found in the Persian of this period. But our example will be authentic only when we quote from an autograph copy of the work and, if it is not available, from a work transcribed during the life-time of the author or at least a little after him. Unfortunately, these conditions are not fulfilled by most of the Persian texts extant today.

The two oldest manuscripts of *Tārikh-e Beihāqi*, known to us, were transcribed probably, in the ninth or tenth century A.H. (fifteenth/sixteenth century A.D.) four or five centuries after the work was compiled. Similarly, the oldest manuscript copy of *Seyāsat-Nāme* (or *Seyar al-Molūk*) ascribed to Nezām-ol-Molk and compiled in about 484 A.H. (1091-92 A.D.) which has come to us, was transcribed about 200 years later in 673 A.H. (1274-75 A.D.).

It is evident that a language undergoes many changes in the course of two to three centuries. So there is every reason to believe that the scribe might have altered the actual text willingly or unwillingly. We are not sure whether the passage found in the manuscript is the verbatim original text of the author or if it has been changed by the scribe.

For instance, the *Ma'āref* was composed by Bahā Valad, the father of Jalāloddīn Balkhi (Rūmi) towards the end of the sixth century A.H. (twelfth century A.D.). It was published in a critical edition by the late

Badi'ozzamān Forūzānfar. A close study of the text, from the grammatical point of view, however, indicates that the style of the work is not uniform, and at places it varies considerably. For instance, at one place while narrating a dream, the author suffixes *-ī* to the verbs :

bādī' tork xāb dīd ke rūz-e ādīne *asti* va sad hazār xalq-e sapīd jāmē mī gūyandī ke namāz-e ādīne bahā valad mī konadī. mā hame namāz sepas to mī gośārdīmī, mordamān mī xāhandī tā sāx sāx šavandī. mardomān rā bāz mī rāndandī ke hame sepas vei ravīd.<sup>30</sup>

(Badī' Turk saw in a dream, "It is Friday and thousands of people dressed in white are asking to offer the Friday prayer after Bahā Valad. We have been offering prayer after you. But now the people want to go in groups. So the people are driven again to follow after him.)"

But in another identical situation he gives up the above inflectional form and employs such verbs as are used by his successors :

be xāb mī dīdam ke moryān-e sapīd kalān kalān, az yāz kalāntar mī parīdand va tasbīh sarīhan mī goftand. yaki mī goft...va yaki dīgar tasbīh-e dīgar mī gofti va dīgarān va hamçonīn...<sup>31</sup>.

(I saw in a dream that big white birds, bigger than goose, were flying and saying prayer to God. One of them praised God in one way... and the other in a different way...)

The case of the stylistic variation as explained by the editor is that the two passages taken from Parts II and III, respectively, belong to two different manuscripts and the work has not been edited from a single complete manuscript. It is, therefore, rightly presumed that the scribe of the first passage was more honest and careful than of the second one, which was transcribed in 965 A.H. (1557-58 A.D.) i.e. more than three and a half centuries afterwards. The latter seems to have altered the actual text and replaced the old inflectional forms with those prevalent in his own time. The presumption is based on the fact that out of four verbs found in the second passage only three are modern whereas the fourth one *mīgoftī* is in its old form.

33. During the course of research we have come across another problem. Most of the Iranian authors (just like other Muslim writers) quote long or short passages from other works without mentioning clearly that they are quoting, with the result that we are unable to say from where the actual quotation starts. Sheikh 'Attār, for example, in his *Tazkere* quotes long passages, sometimes a whole chapter, from *Kashf-al-Mahjūb* of Hojveiri, *Resāla-e Qosheirīye* and other sufistic works without disclosing his source.

Some writers indicate that they have converted the quoted part into the language of their own day but most of them do not even tell us that they are quoting, and if so, whether they have made any change in the actual passage or not.

To illustrate the point we quote here two passages from *Nasā'em al-*

*As'hār* of Nāseroddīn Monshi Kermāni (composed in 725 A.H.) and *Āthār al-Vozarā* of Seifoddīn Hāji b. Nezām 'Aqīlī composed in the second half of the ninth century A.H. (fifteenth century A.D.) about 150 years afterwards : *Nasā' em āl-As'hār* :

Dar yalvā-e doulatī çonān vāfer va aφnā-e 'azmatī çonān motakāφer, dā'eman be-hāl-e zo'afā-e ra'iyat va bīçārgān-e har velāyat rasīdī va bā zohhād va abdāl va maśā' ex nīz nafasī dāstī va ouqāt va sā'āt rā mostayraq-e tā'āt va 'ebādāt gardānidī.<sup>32</sup>

(He had exceeding fortune and excessive glory. He always looked after the weak and helpless subjects of the entire country. He also found time to be in the company of ascetics and saints and passed his own time in prayer.)

#### *Āthār al-Vozarā* :

bā vajūd-e doulat va 'azmat-e besyār...dā'eman be-hāl-e zo'afā-e ra'iyat va bīçārgān-e har velāyat rasīdī va bā zohhād va 'olamā va maśā' ex nīz sohbat dāstī...va ouqāt va sā'āt rā mostayraq-e tā'āt va 'ebādāt gardānidī.<sup>33</sup>

Similar passages are found in several works of different periods with the result that it is difficult to compare the grammatical characteristics of a period with those of others, particularly when we do not even know whether the passage occurring in a work belongs to its own author or it has been taken from an earlier work.

34. An author sometimes quotes from an earlier work and changes the language according to the style of his own days, yet there remains something to show that the passage in question has been taken from an earlier work. To illustrate, we reproduce below identical passages from three works. The first passage marked A is taken from *Tārikh-e Barāmeke*, which was most probably composed in the middle of the fifth century A.H.<sup>34</sup> (eleventh century A.D.). The second passage marked B has been taken from *Seyāsat-Nāme* of Nezām-ol-Molk, compiled towards the close of the same century. The third passage marked C is from *Rouzāt al-Jannāt* of Mo'īnoddīn Mohammad Isfazārī composed in 897-898 A.H. (1491-93 A.D.)

It may be added that though it is not known when exactly the *Tārikh-e Barāmeke* was composed, yet in the light of its linguistic characteristics we are inclined to believe that it is older than *Seyāsat-Nāme* and there is every possibility that the author of the latter work might have quoted from the former :

1. A çün farmān-e malek rasīd.  
(When the royal order came, etc.)
  - B çün farmān-e malek rasīd be vālī-e balx tā bande rā be jāneb-e dameśq gosīl konad.
  - C çün bar hasb-e iśāra-e malek bedīn molk āmadam.
2. A bande barg-e rāh besāxt.  
(I made provision for the journey, etc.)

- B bande barg-e rāh besāxt va rūy bexedmat nehād.  
 C ...  
 3. A va az nešābūr qasd-e tabarestān kard ke ānjā bezā'ati dāst.  
 (From Nishapur I left for Tabarestān where I had some estate, etc.)  
 B va az nešābūr āhang-e...  
 C az nešābūr 'azīmat-e tabarestān kardam be-sabab-e bezā'atī ke ānjā dāstam.
4. A çün be-tabarestān rasīd malek-e tabarestān esteqbāl kard va bande rā dar šahr-e āmol dar sarā-e xištan forūd āvard.  
 (When I reached Tabarestān, the king received me and arranged for my stay in his palace at Amol, etc.)  
 B çün xiš forūd āvard.  
 C malek-e tabarestān esteqbāl farmūde bande rā be-šahr dar āvardand va dar sarā-e xās manzel dād.
5. A va nozl farestād va har rūz be-xān va majlesī yakjā būdīmī va har rūz be-jāyi be-tamāsā raftīmī.  
 (He sent presents (for me), and together we attended the dinner and assembly and went out for enjoyment, etc.)  
 B va nozl farestād va har rūz be-xān va majles beham būdīm va har rūz be-jāyi dīgar be-tamāsā raftīmī.  
 C va az šarāyet-e xāter jū'ī va melmān navāzī hīc bāqī na-go dāst.  
 (And he left nothing to please and entertain me.)
6. A rūzi darmeyān-e xorramī peidā ? (bande rā) goft.  
 (One day he was happy and said to me, etc.)  
 B rūzī meyān-e xorramī bande rā goft.  
 C rūzi bande rā goft.
7. A to hargez tamāsā-e daryā karda'ī ? goftam nī.  
 ("Have you ever seen the sea ?" I said, "No.")  
 B to...goftam na.  
 C to...nī.
8. A goft fardā tamasā-e daryā mehmān-e manī.  
 (He said, "Tomorrow you are my guest at the sea," etc.)  
 B goft fardā be-tamāsā-e daryā mehmān-e manī.  
 C formūd ke fardā jehat-e tamāsā-e daryā sāxte bās.
9. A goftam farmān torāst.  
 (I said, "As you please.")  
 B goftam...  
 C goftam farmān šomā rāst.
10. A befarmūd tā mallāhān rā hāzer kardand tā kaštīkā rāst konand.  
 (The king ordered the sailors to have the boats ready, etc.)

- B befarmūd tā mallāhān fardā rā kaštīhā rāst konand va sāxte bāšand.
- C pas farmūd tā mallāhān kaštīhā rāst konand va mo'add bāšand.
11. A dīgar rūz malek bande rā be lab-e daryā bord va dar kaštī neśastīm.  
(Next day the king took me to the sea and we boarded the boat, etc.)
- B dīgar...neśastīm.
- C dīgar rūz dar daryā neśaste.
12. A va motrebān avāz-e samā' bar-kaśidand va mallāhān kaštī darmeyān-e daryā berāndand.  
(And the singers started singing and the sailors sailed the boat, etc.)
- B va motrebān samā' bar-kaśidand va mallāhān kaštī berāndand va darmeyān-e daryā bordand.
- C ...
13. A va sāqeyān śarāb mī gardānidand.  
(And the saqis served wine to all, etc.)
- B va sāqeyān śarāb hamī peimūdand.
- C va...mī peimūdand.
14. A va man va malek pahlū-e yakdīgar tang neśaste būdīm çonānke meyān-e mā vāsetā'ī nabūd.  
(The king and I were sitting so close to each other that there was nothing between us, etc.)
- B va man va malek tang be yakdīgar neśaste būdīm çonānke meyān-e mā vāsetā'ī nabūd.
- C va meyān-e man va malek kasī hā'el nabūd.
15. A va angośtarī dar angośt dāst, negīn-e ū yāqūt-e sorx, saxt be yāyat nīku sāfī.  
(He had a ring on his finger set in with a ruby extremely red and excessively clear, etc.)
- B va...sāfī va rangīn.
- C va dar angośt-e malek angośtarīni būd negīnaś az yāqūt-e sorx.
16. A çonānke bande azān nīkūtar nadīde būd.  
(that I had not seen better than that, etc.)
- B çonānke...būd.
- C ke nīkūtar azān nadīde būd.
17. A va az jehat-e nīkū'ī har zamān dar angośtarī negāh mī kardam.  
(And on account of its beauty I watched it constantly, etc.)
- B va...dar ān angośtarī negāh mī kardam.
- C az yāyat-e xūbī-e ān negīn har zamān dar angośt-e vei negāh mī kardam.

18. A çün malek dīd ke man dar angoštari besyār mī negaram.  
 (When the king saw that I was constantly watching the ring, etc.)  
 B çün...negaram.  
 C çün malek tavajjoh-e marā be ān negīn daryāft.
19. A angoštari az angošt bīrūn kard va pīš-e man andāxt.  
 (he took out the ring from his finger and put it before me.)  
 B angoštari...andāxt.  
 C az angošt bīrūn kard va pīš-e man nehād.
20. A man xedmat kardam, būsī bar angoštari dādam va pīš-e malek be-nehādam.  
 (Thereupon I offered my salutation, kissed the ring and put it back before the king, etc.)  
 B man...malek bāz nehādam.  
 C man bebūsīdam va pīš-e malek nehādam.
21. A malek bardāst va pīš-e man nehād.  
 (The king took it and placed it again before me, etc.)  
 B malek...nehād.  
 C bāzaś pīš-e man nehād.
22. A va goft angoštari ke az angošt-e man bīrūn āyad bar sabīl-e hebe dīgar dar angošt-e man naravad.  
 (and said, "The ring taken out by me to give away as a gift would no more adorn my finger," etc.)  
 B va...hebe va 'atā bāz dar angošt-e man nayāyad.  
 C va goft angoštariñi ke be-rysñ-e baxsēš az angoštam bīrūn āmade bāz be angoštam naravad.
23. A man goftam īn angoštari ham angošt-e malek rā śāyad.  
 (I said, "This ring is suitable for the royal finger only," etc.)  
 B man goftam īn angoštari malek rā śāyad.  
 C man goftam īn angoštariñi ham angošt-e malek rā śāyad.
24. A va pīš-e malek bāz nehādam va malek pīš-e bande nehād.  
 (So I put it again before the king but he put it back to me, etc.)  
 B va pīš-e malek bāz nehādam va malek bāz pīš-e bande  
 C dīgar bār pīšam andāxt.
25. A va bande az jehat-e ānke angoštari bas nīkū va gerān-māye būd.  
 (because the ring was extremely good and precious, etc.)  
 B va azān jehat ke angoštari bas...  
 C çün yāqūt bas gerān māye būd.

26. A goftam īn dar xorramī hamī gūyad, nabāyad ke dar hošyāri pašimān šavad va bar delaš ranj āyad.  
 (I said to myself, "The king says so out of sheer joy; lest he feel sorry and aggrieved when he comes to his senses," etc.)  
 B goftam īn dar xorramī mī farmāyad, nabāyad ke...  
 C goftam šāyad ke dar hošyāri pašimān šavad va xāterās parīsān gardad.
27. A angoštarī rā bāz pīš-e malek nehādam.  
 (So I placed the ring again before the king, etc.)  
 B angoštarī bāz pīš-e malek nehādam.  
 C bāz pīš-e ū nehādam.
28. A malek angoštarī rā bardāst va dar daryā andāxt.  
 (The king took the ring and threw it into the sea, etc.)  
 B malek...andāxt.  
 C malek bardāst va dar daryā andāxt.
29. A man goftam, āh, darīyā īn angoštarī.  
 (I said, "Alas ! the ring," etc.)  
 B man goftam āh, darīy īn angoštarī.  
 C goftam darīy az angoštarīnī bedān xūbī.
30. A ke agar dānestamī ke malek be-haqīqat dar angošt naxāhad bord va dar daryā xāhad andāxt bārī be-peširoftamī.  
 (If I had known that the king would not put it on again and would throw it into the sea I would have accepted it, etc.)  
 B ke agar dānestamī...  
 C agar bedānestam ke malek dar angošt naxāhad kard va bedaryā xāhad afkand mī peširoftam.
31. A malek goft man çand karrat pīš-e to nehādam va çūn dīdam besyār mī negarī az angošt bīrūn kardam va be to baxsīdam.  
 (The king said, "I placed it a few times before you and when I saw that you were watching it intently I took it out of my finger and offered it to you," etc.)  
 B malek goft man çand karrat pīš-e to nehādam va çūn dīdam darān farāvān mī negarī az angošt bīrūn kardam va be to baxsīdam.  
 C malek goft çand karrat pīš-e to kašīdam, qabūl nakardī.
32. A agar to be nazdīk-e man 'azīztar va nīkūtar azān nabūdī torā nabaxsīdamī.  
 ("If you had not been dearer to me than the ring, I would not have offered it to you," etc.)  
 B be çāsm-e man agar to azān nīkūtar nabūdī torā nabaxsīdami.  
 C ...

33. A va liken çāra'i bekonam magar bāz-e to rasānamas.  
 ("However, I will do something and I may restore it [the ring] to you," etc.)
- B va liken çāra'i bekonam magar bāz be to rasānam.
- C ammā çāra'i bekonam ke ūrā be dast-e to rasānam.
34. A mallāh rā farmūd ke langarhā forū hel va kaštī bar jāy bedār.  
 (He ordered the sailor to cast anchor and stop the boat, etc.)
- B mallāh...bedār.
- C mallāhān rā farmūd tā langar andāxte kaštīhā rā negāh dāstand.
35. A yolām dar rasid va ān sandūqče beyāvard.  
 (The slave arrived and brought the casket, etc.)
- B yolām...beyāvard.
- C yolām raft va sandūq rā āvard.
36. A sar-e sandūqče barandāxt.  
 (He opened the top of the casket, etc.)
- B sar-e sandūqče bardāst.
- C qofl-e sandūq begosād.
37. A zamāni būd, bar sar-e āb āmad.  
 (After a while it appeared on the surface of water, etc.)
- B yak sā'at būd, bar sar-e āb āmad.
- C ba'd az zamāni bar sar āmad,
38. A soleimān bar gereft va bedīb.  
 (Soloman took it and saw, etc.)
- B soleimān bardāst va bedīd.
- C soleimān...bardāst va bedīd.

On comparing the three texts it is evident that *Tārikh-e Barāmeke* and *Seyāsat-Nāme* are identical at many places and the author of the latter has undoubtedly quoted verbatim from the former. But he did not try to alter the language of the quoted source because his work was not composed after a long interval, and so the language had not changed very much. Still some alterations can be observed in B. For instance *yakjā būdīmī* in 5 A has been replaced by *behām būdīm* in 5 B. '*Hamīgūyad*' in 26 A gives way to *mīfarmāyad* in 26 B. 33 A has *bāze* to *rasānamas* where *bāz* means 'to, towards'. This word had probably become obsolete by the time B was compiled so it has *bāz be to rasānam*. *Bar andāxt* in 36 A has been substituted with *bardāst* in 36 B, while *bargeref* of 38 A was changed to *bardāst* in 38 B.

But the text of C (*Rouzāt al-Jannāt*) differs considerably from the earlier two works. Its author definitely had one of the two models before him, but as its diction had become archaic and unfamiliar he modified it according to the style of his own time. Sometimes he dropped a sentence altogether as in 32, or he replaced the old inflectional forms with new

ones. In 30, for instance, the old subjunctive conditional *agar dānestamī... bepeširoftamī* has been changed with *agar bedānestam...mī pediroftam*. Occasionally he adopts his own way of description as in 5 or substitutes obsolete words and phrases with those current in his time as in 4. The learned reader can see for himself other points of similarity and contrast.

35. These problems are, however, not so great as to deter a researcher from continuing his work because if he adopts the right method and studies each text closely he can arrive at the right conclusion.

35.1. First, we have to base our research only on authentic manuscripts transcribed not much after the date of compilation and, if possible, find out a copy written in the town where the author lived or at a place nearer to it. This method, as indicated earlier, is not easy yet we should try to follow it as far as possible.

35.2. In case of transcriptional alterations, it is definite that the scribe changes the old forms into new ones and not vice-versa. Again, the alteration is not made in each and every case but some old forms are still left out. Now we can very well judge that the new forms have been introduced by the scribe and they do not represent the original text. A comparison with contemporary texts will reveal the points of difference with the original.

35.3. When an author quotes from an earlier work there are two methods to trace the original text. The actual quotation may be found in an old text and it can be ascertained how far the author has altered the original. Or if the original source is not traceable we should study the text thoroughly and collect examples of grammatical significance. Then, we should compare them with similar examples taken from other contemporary texts. Now if we find a passage which seems linguistically old we may infer that it has been taken from an earlier author. For instance, when the author of *Āthār al-Vozarā* quotes from the earlier work *Nasā' em al-As'hār* he maintains the linguistic characteristics of the latter but when he writes of his own he employs the current style :

har rūz dala'el-e resādat va deyānat-e ān vazīr-e bātadbīr zāher būd...  
va 'enāyat-e soltān nīz har rūze dar bāra-e ū ostovār va dar zeyādat  
būd, va moddat-e bīst sāl dar ān mohemmāt be xūtarīn vajh eṣteyāl  
dāšt, va jamī' mardom azū šāker va rāzī būdand.<sup>37</sup>

(Signs of righteousness and honesty were more and more manifest from the skilful minister...Day by day the king was more favourably disposed towards him. He busied himself in all the important affairs in the best possible way for a period of twenty years, with the result that all the people were happy and satisfied with him.)

If the above passage had been taken from an earlier work it would have contained older forms of verb such as *būdī dāsī* and *būdandī*, but since it contains none of these it is certain that the passage has been penned by the author of *Āthār al-Vozarā* himself.

The first comprehensive work on this subject in Persian was compiled by Bahār under the title *Sabk-Shanāsī* and published in three volumes during the years 1320-25 (1941-46). The author has, however, not followed a uniform scientific method and has intermixed stylistics with the changes and development of Persian language in its long course of history. Yet it discusses some very important points not attempted by any other writer before him. The subject has since been considerably explored by eminent Iranian scholars and writers, yet Bahār remains a pioneer in this field.

Most of the scholars who edited classical texts during the last forty years have pointed out the grammatical characteristics of the text in question, and that is of great use for researches on this subject. It is not possible here to give a list of such edited texts. Many writers and scholars have also contributed very good research articles on this subject. We shall refer to them whenever they are quoted by us.

Western scholars have written much on the historical development of Persian language. A few good articles were published in the *Acta Orientalia*, Hungary, by Mr S. Teleghi.<sup>38</sup> Scholars of other countries might have contributed to this field but we are not aware of it.

A comprehensive and serious research on an aspect of this topic was, no doubt, made by Mr G. Lazard, Professor, Faculty of Letters, Paris University and Director, Institute of Iranology. His work published in French in 1963, examines critically the grammatical characteristics of Persian in the first period of its development designated as the Period of Genesis and Growth by us.

What is presented in this book is the result of continuous research made by this writer during a span of more than two decades, when I was engaged in teaching the History of Persian language at the Faculty of Letters, University of Tehran.

In order to pursue the research, the grammatical characteristics noted by this writer were first discussed in the classroom and then each student was assigned a particular text to pick up similar characteristics from it and determine, as far as he could, the stylistic patterns of the work concerned. Every student did not come back with conclusive analysis, yet enough material was collected with this process for preparing the present book.

After the Iranian Culture Foundation (Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran) was established in 1343 (1964) by the order of His Imperial Majesty Shāhanshāh Āryāmehr under the patronage of Her Imperial Majesty the Queen of Iran, a section was opened in this Foundation under the supervision of the present writer to do research on the development of Persian language. Thus, an opportunity was provided to sift the enormous material collected on this inexhaustible subject and to compile the present work.

Now I hope that if the circumstances permit, this ambitious project will be completed and it will serve as a guideline for the present and future

scholars to pursue research on the history of Persian language during the last one thousand years.

## References

1. Geyāmoddīn Rā'i, *Loghat-e Turki, Maghūli, Cuīni dar Tārīkh-e Beīhaqī* (included in *Yādnāma-e Abol-Fazl Beīhaqī*, Māshhad, 1349, pp. 182-192.)
2. *Sarzamīnhā-e Khelāfat-e Sharqī* tr. Mahmūd 'Erfān, Tehran, 1337, p. 491.
3. Hamze Isfahāni, *Al-Tanbīh 'alā Hodūth al-Thshīf*, Baghdad, p. 68.
4. Asadi, *Loghat-e Fors*, ed. 'Abbās Egbāl, 1319, p. 1.
5. *Safar-Nāma-e Nāser Khosrou*, ed. Ghanizāde, Berlin, 1342, p. 8.
6. Henning, W.B., *Sogdian Loan-Words in New Persian*, BSOS, 1964, p. 93.
7. *Al-Abneye 'an Haqā'eq al-Adveye*, transcribed by Asadi, National Library, Vienna. Photocopy edition, Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran.
8. Sūrābādi, *Tafsīr-e Qor'ān-e Karīm*, India Office MS. transcribed in 523 A.H. Photocopy edition, Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran.
9. *Tafsīr-e Qor'ān-e Pāk*, Photocopy edition, Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran, 1348.
10. Maqdesi, *Ahsan al-Taqāsīm*, Leiden, p. 334.
11. Bahār, *Sabk-Shanāsī*, First ed., Vol. I, p. 246.
12. Shams Qeis Rāzi, *Al-Mo'jam*, Tabriz, p. 173.
13. *Kolliyāt-e Sa'di*, Ma'refat ed., Tehran, 1340, p. 804.
14. *Kolliyāt-e 'Obeid Zākānī*, 1321, p. 122.
15. Adīb Tūsi, *Se Ghazal-e Isfahāni az Ouhadi*, Journal of Danishkada-e Adabiyāt, Tabriz, Winter, 1342.
16. *Dīvān-e Hāfez*, ed. Mohammad Qazvīnī, p. 304.
17. It is said that Khvāje Sadroddīn Ahmad al-Khāledī al-Zanjānī, the minister knew Mongolian very well. (*Āthār al-Vozarā*, Tehran University, No. 228, p. 282; *Nasā'em al-As'hār*, Tehran University, No. 536, p. 110.)
18. *Tārīkh-e Jahāngoshāy*, Leiden, p. 4.
19. The Mongolian words have been taken from *Tārīkh-e Jahāngoshāy*, *Tārīkh-e Vassāf* and *Tārīkh-e Sheikh Oveis*.
20. Turkish words have been taken from *Ahsan-al-Tavārīkh*, by Hasan Rūmlu.

For Mongolian and Turkish loan-words in Persian please cf.,  
Doerfer, G.' *Turkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neopersischen*,  
I-III Wiesbaden, 1963-67.

21. Taken from the following newspapers: *Qāmūn* (1890), *Sūr-e Esrāfīl* (1325 A.H.), *Tiatre* (1326 A.H.) *Mosāvāt* (1325 A.H.)
22. Taken from the above newspapers.
23. Taken from the *Tiatre*, Nos. 1-11, Rabī'ī—Jomādā I, 1326 A.H.
24. *Sūr-e Esrāfīl*, No. 27, p. 2.
25. *ibid.*, p. 8.
26. *Nāma-e Khosravān* by Jalāloddīn Mirza, son of Fath 'Ali Shāh, 1308 A.H.
27. *Kolliyāt-e Yaghmā-e Jondogī*, Tehran, Book I (Prose), 1283.
28. *Hojveirī*, *Kashf al-Māhjūb*, Tehran, 1336. Offset reprint of the Leningrad edition, 1926.
29. *Sajestānī*, *Kashf al-Māhjūb*, Institute of Iran and France, 1327.
30. *Bahā Valad*, *Ma'āref*, 1333, p. 279.
31. *ibid.*, p. 315.
32. *Nasā' em al-As'hār*, p. 49.
33. *Āthār al-Vozarā*, p. 207.
34. *Tārīkh-e Barāmeke*, ed. 'Abdol-'Azīm Garīb, Majles Press, 1313, p. 7.
35. *Seyar al-Molūk*, Bongāh-e Tarjome va Nashr-e Ketāb, 1347, p. 238.
36. *Rouzāt al-Jannāt fi Ousāf-e Madīnat al-Herāt*, Tehran University, 1338, p. 168.
37. *Āthār al-Vozarā*, p. 353.
38. Telegdi, S., *Acta Orientalia*, Hungary.
39. Lazard, G., *La Langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris, 1963.

*The First Period of Dari Persian from its  
Origin to the Beginning of the Seventh  
Century A.H.*





## **Book II**



## **Basic Research Sources for the First Period of Dari Persian**

In order to delve into the First Period of Dari Persian we have based our research on the important prose works produced in Persian from its earliest days to the beginning of the seventh century A.H. (thirteenth century A.D.). These works were thoroughly analysed in the light of their linguistic, morphological and syntactic characteristics. Extreme care was taken to quote only from the most authentic edition of each research source, but, as indicated earlier, this method has its own problems, because there is hardly a Persian manuscript which has escaped alterations by the scribes and which may be regarded as the verbatim copy of the author's original manuscript.

Sometimes, several manuscripts or printed editions of a work are available. In such cases we have tried our best to consult all or most of them. In some cases a critically edited text has been referred to but instead of depending entirely on the critical edition, its basic manuscripts or their photocopies were also consulted. That is why while giving reference to a particular work, its printed edition as well as the photocopy of its manuscript has been quoted. In order to differentiate between the two we have marked the printed edition as *çapı* (P in this translation) and the photocopy as *aksi* (Ph. in this translation). In order to avoid repeated references to the lengthy titles of the works, we have used abbreviations.

On the following page, is given a list of the basic sources consulted by us in order to find out the characteristics of Dari Persian in the First Period. First, the abbreviated title of the work is given followed by its full title and the distinguished features of its printed edition or the manuscript photocopy. Where a work contains more than one volume, the number following the abbreviated title indicates the volume. (Roman numbers are given in

the translation.) If a work is not included in this list, its full title and other particulars have been quoted at the bottom of the page or at the end of the chapter.

### List of Sources

**Abneye P** — *Al-Abneye 'an Haqā'eq al-Adveye* by Abu Mansūr Movaffaq Heravi on medicines; Zeligmann, 1859.

**Abneye Ph** — The same transcribed by Asadi of Tūs in 447 A.H. (1055-56 A.D.). Photocopy edition, Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran, Tehran, 1344 (1965).

**Abol-Heitham** — *Sharh-e Qasīda-e Fārsī-e Khwāje Abol-Heitham*. This Persian commentary is ascribed to Mohammad b. Sorkh Neshāpūri living in the fourth or fifth century A.H. (eleventh/twelfth century A.D.). It deals with the Ismā'ili philosophy. The style of the work resembles that of the religious and philosophical works composed in the fifth century A.H.

The unique and undated manuscript of the work is preserved in the Mulla Murād Library, Istanbul (Turkey). It was probably transcribed in the seventh century A.H. Henry Corbin edited the work with the help of other books particularly *Jāme' al-Hekmatein*. It was published by the Institute of Iran and France, Tehran, in 1334.

**Asrār** — *Asrār al-Touhīd fi Maqāmāt al-Sheikh Abī Sa'īd*, composed by Mohammad b. Monavvar of Mīhan in the sixth century A.H. (eleventh century A.D.) and edited by Professor Zabihollah Safa, Tehran, 1332, with the help of the manuscripts preserved in Istanbul, Leningrad and Copenhagen. The Istanbul manuscript is dated 700 A.H. (1300 A.D.).

**Eskandar** — *Eskandar-Nāme*, the Persian version of Pseudo-Calisthenes dating from sixth to eighth century A.H., edited by Iraj Afshār on the basis of its only manuscript preserved in the personal library of the late Sa'id Nafici. Published by Bongāh-e Tarjome va Nashr-e Ketāb, Tehran, 1343.

**Aghrāz** — *Al-Aghrāz al-Tebbiye va al-Mabāheth al-'Alā'iye*. A summary of *Zakhīra-e Khwārazm Shāhi* by the famous physician of the sixth century A.H. (twelfth century A.D.), Sayyed Ismā'il Jorjāni. The manuscript dated 789 A.H. (1387 A.D.) belongs to the Central Library, University of Tehran; Photocopy edition, Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran, Tehran, 1345.

**Al-Tavassol** — *Al-Tavassol elā al-Tarassol*, composed by Bahāoddīn Mohammad ben Mo'ayyad Baghdādi, the Secretary of 'Alā'oddīn Takesh Khwārazmshāh in the sixth century A.H. (twelfth century A.D.), edited by Ahmad Bahmanyār on the basis of the Leiden MS. dated 668 A.H. (1289 A.D.) and Paris MS. dated 684 A.H. (1285-86 A.D.), Tehran, 1315 A.H.

*Elāhīyāt* — *Elāhīyāt-e Dānesh-Nāma-e ‘Alā’ī*, composed by Avicenna between 412 and 428 A.H. (1021-1036 A.D.). Dr Mohammad Mo‘īn edited the work with the help of numerous manuscripts available in Iran as well as other countries and transcribed between the eighth and thirteenth centuries. Published by Anjoman-e Āthār-e Melli, Tehran, 1331.

*Anbeyā* — *Qesas al-Anbeyā*, composed by Abu-Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Mansūr b. Khalaf of Neshāpūr. The main manuscript on which Habib Yaghmā‘ī based his critical edition is preserved in the National Library, Paris and is dated 669 A.H. (1270 A.D.). Among other manuscripts used by the editor, one belongs to the Nāsez Pasha Library, the photocopy of which was possessed by Mehdi Bayāni; another in the possession of Hasan Nerāgi was transcribed apparently in the tenth century A.H. (sixteenth century A.D.). The third manuscript was owned by Ja‘far Soltān; published by Bongāh-e Tarjome va Nashr-e Ketāb, Tehran, 1340.

*Ansārī* — *Rasā’l* of Khwāje ‘Abdollāh Ansārī (d. according to *Nafahāt al-Ons* in 396 A.H./1005-6 A.D.), edited by Vahid Dastgardi on the basis of two manuscripts; one transcribed in India between 1028 and 1035 A.H. (1618-23 A.D.) and the other transcribed a century earlier and possessed by the editor himself. The critical edition carries an introduction by Soltān Hosein of Gonābād; printed in Tehran, 1319.

*Bokhārā* — *Tārīkh-e Bokhārā* or *Mazārāt-e Bokhārā*. The work dealing with the history and topography of Bokhārā, the capital of the Samanids, was originally compiled in Arabic by Abu Bakr Mohammad b. Ja‘far al-Nerakhshi and was translated into Persian by Abu Nasr Ahmad b. Mohammad b. Nasr Alqabāvi. A summary of the same was prepared by Mohammad b. Zafar b. ‘Omar. It was edited by Modarres Razavi on the basis of two manuscripts; one in his own possession and transcribed probably two centuries ago and the other preserved in the library of the Faculty of Divinity, University of Tehran. The latter was transcribed in 1235 A.H. (1819-20 A.D.) and is full of mistakes. The editor also consulted the printed edition prepared by Shaffer. The work was printed in Tehran, 1317.

*Bakhteyār* — *Lam‘at al-Sarrāj le Hazrat al-Tāj* (*Bakhteyār-Nāme*), composed by an anonymous author in the sixth century A.H. (twelfth century A.D.). It was edited by Mohammad Roushan on the basis of the Leiden manuscript dated 695 A.H. (1295-96 A.D.) with the help of two other manuscripts, and published by Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran, Tehran, 1348.

*Bakhsh* — *Bakhshī az Tafsīr-e Tabari*. It is a part of the monumental *Tafsīr-e Tabari* which was translated into Persian under the Samanid ruler Mansūr b. Nūh between 350 and 380 A.H. (961-990 A.D.). The manuscript is preserved in the Āstān-e Qods Library, Mashhad and was introduced for the first time by Dr Ahmad ‘Ali Rejāī, in the

Journal of the Faculty of Letters, Mashhad. Later on, its block photo was printed. This work is important because its scribe has recorded most of the Persian words with diacritical marks, which help us to know the contemporary pronunciation.

**Barāmeke** — *Tārīkh-e Barāmeke*, composed by an anonymous author in the fourth or fifth century A.H. (tenth-eleventh century A.D.). The work gives an account of the Barmec family which rose to power under the Abbasid caliphs. Edited by Abdol-'Azīm Garīb on the basis of a personal manuscript which, according to him, was transcribed from the original but the scribe made frequent mistakes. Printed in Tehran, 1313.

**Bal'amī P** — *Tārīkh-e Bal'amī* by Abu 'Ali Mohammad b. Mohammad b. Bal'amī, the minister of Mansūr b. Nūh, the Samanid ruler. It is the Persian translation of *Tārīkh-e Tabarī* along with a supplement. The translation was made in the second half of the fourth century A.H. (tenth century A.D.) and deals with the general history of the world from the beginning to the second century A.H. (eighth century A.D.). The chief manuscript on which Bahār based his edition was transcribed, according to him, between 600 and 750 A.H. (1203-1349 A.D.). Eight more manuscript and printed copies were utilized by the learned editor. Published by the Ministry of Culture, Tehran, 1341.

**Bal'amī Ph** — It is a part of the above work containing events from 15 to 132 A.H. (636-749 A.D.). The manuscript preserved in the Āstān-e Qods Library, Mashhad was transcribed in Arzanjān (Turkey) by Ishāq b. Mohammad b. 'Omar b. Mohammad Sharvānī, in 586 A.H. (1188-89 A.D.). Photocopy edition, Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran, Tehran, 1344.

**Bayān** — *Bayān al-Adyān*, the oldest Persian work on the history of religions compiled by Abol-Ma'ālī Mohammad b. Hosein al-'Olūmī in 485 A.H. (1092-93 A.D.). It was first published by Sheffer who based his edition on a manuscript preserved in the National Library, Paris. Later on, it was re-edited by Hāshem Razavi, Tehran, 1342.

**Beihaq** — *Tārīkh-e Beihaq*, compiled by Abol-Hasan 'Alī b. Zeid Beihaqī, better known as Ibn Fondoq, in the beginning of the second half of the sixth century A.H. (twelfth century A.D.). Edited by Ahmad Bahmanyār on the basis of an undated manuscript preserved in the British Museum, London, and with the help of another undated manuscript in the Public Library, Berlin. Published by the Ministry of Culture, Tehran, 1317.

**Beihaqī** — *Tārīkh-e Beihaqī*, by Khwājeh Abol-Fazl Mohammad b. Hosein Beihaqī d. 470 A.H. (1077-78 A.D.). Edited by Ghani on the basis of :

1. Calcutta edition prepared by Morley and Capt. Nassau Lees, 1862.
2. Tehran lithographed edition prepared by Adīb Peshāwari. Both

editions were based on the manuscripts transcribed in the ninth or tenth century A.H. (fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D.).

3. An undated manuscript belonging to Madrāse Fāzelīye, Mashhad but now preserved in Madrāse Navvāb, Mashhad.
4. A manuscript preserved in the Melli Library, Tehran and transcribed in 1265 A.H. (1848-49 A.D.). Published by Fayyāz, Tehran, 1324.

Pāk — *Tafsīr-e Qor'ān-e Pāk*. Fragment of an anonymous commentary on the Qor'ān composed towards the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.H. (tenth-eleventh century A.D.). The manuscript preserved in the Panjab University, Lahore, is significant as it records some Persian words with diacritical marks. Photocopy edition, Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran, Tehran, 1344.

Tarjomān — *Tarjomān al-Balāghat*, on Poetics composed by Mohammad b. 'Omar al-Rādūyāni. Its unique manuscript is dated 507 A.H. (1113-14 A.D.). Photocopy edition prepared by Ahmet Aes, Istanbul, 1949.

Ta'arrof — *Sharh al-Ta'arrof le Mazhab al-Tasavvof*, composed by Abū Ibrāhīm al-Mostamli al-Bokhāri (d. 434 A.H./1042-43 A.D.) on Sufism. Edited by Hasan Mīnūchehr, Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran, Tehran, 1346.

Tafhīm — *Ketāb al-Tafhīm le Avā'l Sanā'at al-Tanjīm*, composed by Abu Reihān Birūni on the principles of astronomy, in 420 A.H. (1029 A.D.). The editor Jalāl Homāi prepared his critical edition with the help of six manuscripts; the main manuscript belonging to Sheikh 'Ali Akbar Khodābande of Khorasan is dated 538 A.H. (1143-44 A.D.); Tehran, 1316.

Tamhīd — *Zobdat al-Haqā'eq* (Tamhīdāt) by Abol-Ma'ālī 'Abdollāh b. Mohammad b. 'Ali b. al-Hasan b. 'Ali, entitled 'Ain al-Qozāt (492-525 A.H./1098-1131 A.D.). The editors 'Afīf 'Asīrān and Ali Nagi Monzavi have based their edition on the following four manuscripts :

1. University of Tehran MS. dated 560 A.H. (1164-65 A.D.) .
2. Istanbul MS. dated 669 A.H. (1270-71 A.D.)
3. Istanbul MS. dated 891 A.H. (1486 A.D.)
4. Berlin MS. dated 1150 A.H. (1737-38 A.D.)

Vol.I, published by the University of Tehran, 1962.

Jāme' — *Ketāb-e Jāme' al-Hekmatein*, composed by Abu Mo'in Nāser Khosrou Qobādeyāni Marvāzi Yamagīni in 462 A.H. (1069-70 A.D.). Its unique manuscript is preserved in the Aya Sofya Library, Istanbul. Edited by Henry Corbin and Mohammad Mo'in and published by the Institute of Iran and France, Tehran, 1332.

Jamāl — *Dīvān-e Jamāloddīn* Mohammad b. Abdorrāzzāq Isfahāni, the qasida-writer of the sixth century A.H. (twelfth century A.D.). Edited by Vahid Dastgardi on the basis of ten manuscripts, four of which belong-

ed to Armaghān Library, one to Zakā-ol-Molk, one to Sādeg Ansāri, one to Hāj Hosein Nakhjavāni, one to Said Nafici, one to Qavīmoddoule and one to Jāberi Ansāri. The editor, however, has given no detail of any manuscript. Published by the Ministry of Culture, Tehran, 1320.

Hälät — *Hälät Va Sokhanān-e Sheikh Abu Sa'īd Abol Kheir Mīhani*, composed by a descendant of the saint in the sixth century A.H. (twelfth century A.D.). The manuscript dated 699 A.H. (1299-1300 A.D.) is preserved in the British Museum, London, and is second in a collection of treatises. Edited by Iraj Afshār, Tehran, 1341.

Hadā'eq — *Hadā'eq al-Sehr fī Daqā'eq al-She'r* by Rashīdoddīn Vatvāt (d. 573 A.H./1177-78 A.D.). Edited by 'Abbas Egbal, Tehran, Majles Press, 1308.

Hodūd — *Hodūd al-'Ālam min al-Mashreq ilā al-Maghreb*, a work on general geography composed by an anonymous author in 372 A.H. (982-83 A.D.). Its unique manuscript is dated 656 A.H. (1258 A.D.). Edited by Menuchehr Setoude, University of Tehran, 1340.

Hadiqé — *Hadiqat al-Haqiqat va Sharī'at al-Tarīqat* by Abol-Majd Majdūd b. Ādam Sanā'i, the famous poet of the sixth century A.H. (twelfth century A.D.). The main manuscript on which Modarres Razavi based his critical edition belonged to the poet laureate Bahār but he does not mention its date of transcription. Other manuscripts were also used. Printed in Sepehr Press, Tehran, 1329.

Hasan — *Dīrān* of Sayyed Hasan Ghaznavī, entitled Ashraf. Edited by the above editor with the help of several manuscripts without specifying their date. Published by the University of Tehran, 1328.

Hayy — *Qessa-e Hayy b. Yaqzān* by Avicenna in Arabic. It was originally composed by Ibn Tofeil and was later explained by Avicenna, whose version was translated and explained in Persian by a contemporary of the great philosopher. Edited by Henry Corbin, Vol. I, Anjoman-e Āthār-e Melli, Tehran, 1331.

Khosrou — *Khosrou Shīrīn*, the well-known mathnawi of Nezāmi of Ganja, the poet of the sixth century A.H. (twelfth century A.D.). Edited by Vahid Dastgardi with the help of 30 manuscripts transcribed between 700 and 1000 A.H. (1300-1591 A.D.). Published by Elmi Publications, Tehran, 1313.

Dārāb — *Dārāb-Nāme* by Abu Tāher Tarsūsi, a writer of the sixth century A.H. (twelfth century A.D.). The original manuscript transcribed during the reign of Akbar, the Mughal emperor (1555-1605 A.D.), is preserved in the National Library, Paris. Edited by Dr. Zabihollāh Safa, Bongāh-e-Tarjome va Nashr-e Ketāb, Tehran, 1344.

Zakhīre — *Zakhīra-e Khwārazmshāhi*, on medical science composed by Ismā'il b. Hasan al-Hoseini al-Jorjāni (b. 434 A.H./1042-43 A.D.). The basic manuscript, though dated 546 A.H. (1151-52 A.D.) seems to have been transcribed in the first half of the seventh century A.H. (thirteenth century A.D.). Other manuscripts were also used. Edited by Mohammad

- Tagi Dānesh-Pezhouh and Iraj Afshar, University of Tehran, 1344.
- Rāhat — *Rāhat al-Sodūr Va Āyāt al-Sorūr*, a history of the Seljuqs composed by Mohammad b. 'Ali b. Soleimān Rāvandi in 599 A.H. (1202-03 A.D.). Edited by Prof. Mohammad Iqbal of Lahore and Mojtaba Minovi, Gibb Memorial Series. Photo-offset edition by Tā'īd Book Depot, Isfahan and Amīr Kabīr, Tehran, 1333.
- Rāzi — *Tafsīr-e Abol-Fotūh Rāzi*, composed in the sixth century A.H. (twelfth century A.D.) by Hosein b. 'Ali b. Mohammad b. Ahmad Khazāri Neshāpūri, better known as Abol-Fotūh Rāzi. Edited by Mehdi Elāhi Qamsha'i, and published by Elmi Publications, Tehran, 1334.
- Rūdaki — *Dīvān-e Rūdaki*, the poet of the fourth century A.H. (tenth century A.D.), published by the Institute of Asian Peoples, Academy of Sciences, Moscow, USSR, 1964. The Introduction by the editor has been written in Russian.
- Rouze — *Rouzat al-'Oqūl*. Fragment of the work composed by Mohammad b. Qāzī of Ma'lātiya in 598 A.H. (1201-02 A.D.), edited by Henry Massé, Society of Iranian Studies, Paris, 1938.
- Zād — *Zād al-Mosāferīn*, composed by Nāser Khosrou Qobādeyāni in 453 A.H. (1061 A.D.). The critical edition is based on a manuscript preserved in the National Library, Paris and has been compared with another manuscript preserved in the Cambridge University Library. Dates of the manuscripts not mentioned. First published by the Kāviyāni Press, Berlin 1341 A.H. Photo-offset edition, Tehran.
- Zamakhshari — *Maqaddamat al-Adab* by Jārollāh Abol-Qāsem Mahmūd al-Zamakhshari al-Khwārazmi. The editor Mohammad Kāzem Imām states that he has corrected the Persian words used in Arabic with the help of a presumably autograph manuscript. Among the other manuscripts used by him, one is preserved in the Majles Library and apparently dated 741 A.H. (1340-41 A.D.) or afterwards. It also contains translation of Arabic words into Persian bearing the diacritical marks in the footnotes. Published by the University of Tehran, 1343.
- Zein — *Zein al-Akhbār*, a historical text composed by Abu Sa'īd 'Abdol-Hayy b. Zahhāk b. Mahmūd of Gardīz about 443-444 A.H. (1051-53 A.D.). The editor, Professor Abdul Hayy Habibi of Afghanistan, based his critical edition on a manuscript preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and transcribed in India in 1196 A.H. (1781-82 A.D.). But it is actually a copy of another manuscript preserved in the Cambridge University Library, which has also been used by the learned editor. Published by Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran, 1347.
- Zhande — *Maqāmāt-e Zhande Pīl* (Ahmad Jām), composed by Khwājeh Sadīdoddīn Mohammad Ghaznavi in the sixth century A.H. (twelfth century A.D.). Its unique complete manuscript dated 825 A.H. (1421-22 A.D.) is preserved in the Nāfir Pasha Library, Istanbul, on which the critical edition is based, in addition to an incomplete manuscript

in the possession of the Government Library, West Germany. Edited by Dr Hashmatollāh Moayyed of Sanandej and published by Bongāh-e Tarjome Va Nashr-e Ketāb, Tehran, 1340.

Sāmi — *Al-Sāmi fi al-Asāmi*, an Arabic-Persian dictionary compiled by Abol-Fath Ahmad b. Mohammad al-Mīdāni (d. 518 A.H./1124-25 A.D.) Its manuscript dated 601 A.H. (1204-05 A.D.) is preserved in Ibrahim Pasha Library, Turkey. Photocopy edition, Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran, Tehran, 1345.

Sajestāni — *Kashf al-Mahjūb* by Abu Ya'qūb Sajestāni, a treatise on the Ismā'īlī doctrine composed in the fourth century A.H. (tenth century A.D.). Edited by Henry Corbin and published by the Institute of Iran and France, Tehran, 1949.

Safar — *Safar-Nāma-e Nāser Khosrou* by the famous poet born in 394 A.H. (1003-04 A.D.). Edited by M. Ghānizāde with the help of two manuscripts preserved in the National Library, Paris, and published in Berlin, 1341 A.H.

Samak D — *Samak-e 'Ayyār*, composed by Farāmorz b. Khodādād b. 'Abdollāh al-Kāteb al-Arqāni, probably in the sixth century A.H. (twelfth century A.D.). Its unique undated manuscript is preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Edited by Professor Parviz Nātel Khānlari and published in four volumes by the University of Tehran, 1343.

Samak B — The above work published in five volumes by Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran in 1347. The first two volumes of this series contain the four volumes of the Tehran University edition. Volume III in this series has been actually translated from Turkish into Persian but this part seems no longer extant in Persian. Volumes IV and V are the continuation of the Persian version.

Sūr — *Tafsīr-e Qor'ān-e Karīm*. Part of a Persian commentary on the Qor'ān composed by Abu Bakr 'Atīq Sūrābādi between 470 and 480 A.H. (1077-1087 A.D.). The original manuscript dated 523 A.H. (1128-29 A.D.) is preserved in the India Office Library, London. Photocopy edition, Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran, Tehran, 1345.

Seyāsat (Darke) — *Seyāsat-Nāme* or *Seyar al-Molūk* by Khwājeh Nezām-ol-Molk Tūsi composed in 485 A.H. (1092-93 A.D.). The chief manuscript on which Hubert Darke based his critical edition is now preserved in the National Library, Tabriz, and was transcribed in 673 A.H. (1274-75 A.D.). Other manuscripts used are as follows :

1. National Library, Paris MS. dated 600 A.H. (1203-04 A.D.) (This date is doubtful.)
2. Islamic Foundation, Istanbul MS. undated.
3. Other manuscripts.

The editions of Abdor Rahīm Khalkhāli and Abbās Egbāl have

also been used in the footnotes. Published by Bongāh-e Tarjome Va Nashr-e Ketāb, Tehran, 1347.

Seyāsat Kh. — The above work edited by Abdor Rahīm Khalkhālī. Published by Kāve and Ma'refat, Tehran, 1310.

Sīstān — *Tārīkh-e Sīstān* composed by an anonymous author probably between 445 and 725 A.H. (1053-1325 A.D.). Edited by Bahār on the basis of the manuscript transcribed earlier than 864 A.H. (1459-60 A.D.), Tehran, 1314.

Shāh-Nāme — *Shāh-Nāme* of Abol-Qāsem Ferdousi, the epic poet of the fourth century A.H. (tenth century A.D.). Brochier edition published in connection with the 1000th birth anniversary of the poet, Tehran, 1313-15, and based on the Vullers edition, in addition to numerous other manuscripts.

Shomār — *Shomār-Nāme* by Mohammad b. Ayyūb Tabari. Edited by Tagi Bīnesh on the basis of a unique manuscript dated 871 A.H. (1466-67 A.D.) and preserved in the Āstān-e Qods Library, Mashhad; Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran, 1345.

Tabari — *Tarjoma-e Tafsīr-e Tabari*. This translation was done under Mansūr b. Nūh, the Samanid ruler, between 350 and 365 A.H. (961-976 A.D.). The original beautiful manuscript, on which Habib Yaghmāi based his edition, is preserved in the Imperial Library of Iran. Published in 7 volumes, Tehran, 1339.

Tabī'iyyāt — *Tabī'iyyāt-e Dānesh-Nāma-e 'Alā'i* by Avicenna. Edited by Syyed Mohammad Meshkāt on the basis of five manuscripts transcribed in the eighth and ninth centuries A.H. (fourteenth-fifteenth century A.D.). Published by Anjoman-e Āthār-e Melli, Tehran, 1331.

'Atabe — '*Atabat al-Katabat*, a collection of the official correspondence of Sanjar, the Seljuq ruler, written and compiled by Montajaboddīn Badī' Atābek Joveini in about 548 A.H. (1153-54 A.D.). Its unique manuscript dated 671 A.H. (1272-73 A.D.) is preserved in the National Library, Cairo. Edited by Mohammad Qazvīni and Abbās Egbāl, Tehran, 1329.

'Arūzi — *Chahār Maqāle* by Ahmad b. 'Omar b. 'Ali Nezāmi 'Arūzi Samarqandi, composed in about 550 A.H. (1155-56 A.D.). Re-edited by Mohammad Mo'in on the basis of the Qazvīni edition and published from Cairo in 1327 A.H., Tehran, 1333.

'Oshr — *Tafsīr bar 'Oshri az Qor'ān-e Majīd*. The original manuscript preserved in the British Museum under OR. 6573 was first introduced by Dr Jalāl Matīnī in the Journal of the Faculty of Letters, Mashhad, Vol. VIII, No. 2, 1351. Later on, it was edited by him and published by Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran, Tehran, 1351.

'Azīm — *Chand Barg-e Tafsīr-e Qor'ān-e 'Azīm*. Fifty-four pages of an unknown commentary on the Qor'ān. Māyel Haravi, who reproduced it in block printing, believes, on the basis of its Kufī script and linguistic characteristics, that the work was transcribed towards the end of

the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth century A.H. (tenth-eleventh century A.D.). Some of the Persian words are recorded with diacritical marks. Published by the Publication Section of the Public Libraries of Afghanistan, Kabul, 1351.

**Eqd** — *'Eqd al-'Olā le al-Mouqaf al-A'lā*, composed by Afzaloddin Abu Hāmed Ahmad b. Hāmed Kermāni in 584 A.H. (1188-89 A.D.). Edited by 'Ali Mohammad 'Āmeri Nāeni without any introduction and detail of the manuscripts consulted. Tehran, 1311.

**Farrakhi** — *Dīvān* of Farrokhi Sīstāni, the poet of the fifth century A.H. (eleventh century A.D.). Edited by Abdor Rasūli with the help of several manuscripts without giving any particulars of them. Printed in the Majles Press, 1311.

**Fīh** — *Fīh mā Fīh*. Discourses of Moulānā Jalāloddin, known as Moulavi (b. 672 A.H./1273-74 A.D.). The main manuscript on which Professor Forūzānsar based his edition is preserved in the Fāteh Library, Istanbul, and is dated 716 A.H. (1316-17 A.D.). Other manuscripts available in Tehran and Istanbul were also consulted. Published by the University of Tehran, 1330.

**Qābūs P** — *Qābūs-Nāme*, composed by 'Onsor al-Ma'āli Keikāūs b. Vashmagīr b. Zeyār in the fifth century A.H. (eleventh century A.D.). Edited by Gholām Hosein Yūsufi on the basis of the Fāteh manuscript, Istanbul, dated 624 A.H., in addition to four other manuscripts preserved in Leiden, British Museum, Paris and Malek Library, Tehran. Published by Bongāh-e-Tarjome Va Nashr-e Ketāb, Tehran, 1345.

**Qābūs Ph** — Photocopy of the Fāteh MS. Istanbul, No. 5297, dated 624 A.H. (1226-27 A.D.).

**Qābūs L** — The same work edited by Robin Levy on the basis of the following manuscripts :

1. India Office MS. undated.
2. Edward Browne MS.
3. Leiden MS. dated 719 A.H. (1319-20 A.D.).
4. British Museum MS. dated 861 A.H. (1456-57 A.D.).
5. Paris MS. dated 879 A.H. (1474-75 A.D.).

Stephen Austein Press, Hartford, England, 1951.

**Qosheirīye** — *Tarjoma-e Resāla-e Qosheirīye* by Abu 'Ali Hasan b. Ahmad 'Othmāni in the fifth or sixth century A.H. (eleventh or twelfth century A.D.). Edited by the late Forūzānsar on the basis of the following manuscripts :

1. British Museum, dated 601 A.H. (1204-05 A.D.). Photocopy of the manuscript is available in the Melli Library, Tehran.
2. Aya Sofia, Istanbul MS., dated 859 A.H. (1454-55 A.D.).

Published by the Bongāh-e Tarjome va Nashr-e Ketāb, Tehran, 1345. Qesas — *Qesas-e Qur'ān-e Majīd*, collected from the *Tafsīr* of Abu Bakr 'Afīq Sūrābādī (d. 494 A.H./1100-1101 A.D.). The fundamental manuscript, now preserved in the Iran Bāstān Museum, Tehran, is dated 584 A.H. (1188-89 A.D.) and is actually an extract of the *Tafsīr*. It originally belonged to Torbat-e Jām in Khorāsān. Other manuscripts consulted were transcribed in the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries A.H. and their photocopy is available in the Central Library, University of Tehran. Edited by Yahya Mehdavi and published by the University of Tehran, 1347.

Kalile G — *Kalile Va Demme*, translated into Persian by Nasrollāh b. 'Abdol-Hamīd Monshi. Edited by 'Abdol 'Azīm Garīb on the basis of a manuscript transcribed apparently in the seventh century A.H. and the printed edition of Amīr Nezām, Tehran, 1315 A.H.

Kalile M — The same work edited by Mojtaba Minovi on the basis of a manuscript transcribed in 551 A.H. (1156-57 A.D.), 12 years after the work was completed, in the lifetime of the author. Published by the University of Tehran, 1345.

Kohan — *Bakhshi az Tafsīr-e Kohan*. Sixty folios of a larger work containing the translation and explanation of Sūra-e Baqare, verses 78-274. There are two translations of the Arabic verses, one mixed with the explanation and the other given below the Arabic verses. Professor Mojtaba Minovi believes that it was composed before 400 A.H. (1009 A.D.). The original manuscript is preserved in the Khosrou Pasha Library, Turkey. Edited by Mohammad Roushan and published by Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran, Tehran, 1351.

Kīmeyā — *Kīmeyā-e Sa'ādat* composed by Imām Abu Hāmed Mohammad Ghazālī in the fifth century A.H. (eleventh century A.D.). The basic manuscript transcribed in the eighth century A.H. (fourteenth century A.D.) belongs to Mr Sobbuhi, Manager of the Markazi Press and Book Depot. Other important manuscripts available in the Library of Tehran also utilized. Edited by Ahmad Ārām, 2nd edition, 1333.

Garshāsb — *Garshāsb-Nāme*, a mathnavi composed by Abu Nasr 'Ali b. Ahmad Asadi Tūsī in 458 A.H. (1065-66 A.D.). The fundamental manuscript dated 860 A.H. (1455-56 A.D.) is preserved in Madrasa-e Sepahsālār, Tehran. Other manuscripts belonging to the British Museum, Āstān-e Qods (Mashhad), Melli Library (Tehran) and the late Professor Rashīd Yāsmī also utilized. Edited by Habīb Yaghmāi, Brochiem Press, Tehran, 1317.

Lesān — *Lesān al-Tanzīl*, a dictionary of the Quranic words into Persian. The linguistic, morphological and syntactic features of the work lead us to believe that it was probably compiled in the fourth or fifth century A.H. (tenth or eleventh century A.D.). Edited by Mehdi Mohaggeg on the basis of an undated manuscript preserved in the Melli Library, Tehran. Another incomplete manuscript preserved in

the British Museum under the title of *Loghāt-e Qor'ān* also consulted occasionally. Tehran, 1344.

Mā'ede — *Tarjoma-e Sūra-e Ma'ede*. It seems to be part of a larger work most probably composed in the fifth century A.H. (eleventh century A.D.). The manuscript written in the Kufi character is preserved in the Āstān-e Qods Library, Mashhad. Edited by Dr Rejā'i, Āstān-e Qods, No. 4, 1350.

Mathnāvi M — *Mathnāvi* of Moulānā Jalāloddīn Rūmī, printed by Mirza Mohammad Khvānsārī, Tehran, 1307 A.H.

Mathnāvi — The same work edited by Nicholson, Leiden, 1933; Offset reprint, Amīr Kabīr, Tehran, 1336.

Matn — *Matnī Pārsī az Qarn-e Chahārom-e Hejrī*, containing Persian translation of the Qor'ān. Edited by Dr Rejā'i, Āstān-e Qods, Mashhad, No. 2 (apparently 1350).

Mojmal — *Mojmal al-Tavārikh Va al-Qesas*, a general history of the world and Iran composed in 520 A.H. (1126-27 A.D.) by an anonymous author who belonged to Asadābād, a dependency of Hamadān. Edited by Bahār on the basis of a manuscript transcribed by 'Ali b. Najīb Rūdbārī in Jomāda I, 813 A.H. (September, 1410 A.D.) and preserved in the National Library, Paris; Tehran, 1318.

Majīd — *Tafsīr-e Qar'ān-e Majid* containing a Persian commentary on the Qor'ān from *Sīra-e Maryam* to *Nās* composed in the fourth or fifth century A.H. (tenth or eleventh century A.D.). Edited by Dr Jalāl Matīni on the basis of its unique manuscript preserved in the Cambridge University Library. Published by Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran, Tehran, 1349.

Makhzan — *Makhzan al-Asrār* by Nezāmi of Ganje. Edited by Vahīd Dastgardi and published by Elmi Publications, Tehran, 1343 (3rd edition). The editor gives neither the details of the manuscripts consulted by him nor the method of his editing.

Marzbān — *Marzbān-Nāme* composed by Sa'doddīn of Varāvīn in the early years of the seventh century A.H. (thirteenth century A.D.). Edited by Mohammad Qazvīni on the basis of the Leiden edition, 1909.

Menūchehri — *Dīvān* of Menūchehri Dāmaghānī. Edited by Mohammad Dabīr Seyāgi with the help of 20 manuscripts and printed editions. Some of these manuscripts were transcribed in the present century. Published by Zavvār Book Depot, Tehran, 1338.

Masāder — *Ketāb al-Masāder*, a dictionary of Arabic infinitives explained in Persian by Abu 'Abdollāh Hosein b. Ahmad Zouzānī (d. 486 A.H./1093-94 A.D.). Edited by Tagī Bīnesh on the basis of two manuscripts dated 670 A.H. (1271-72 A.D.) and 632 A.H. (1234-35 A.D.). Three other manuscripts were also consulted. Tūs, Mashhad, 1345.

Ma'āref — *Ma'āref-e Bahā Valad* containing the religious and mystical discourses of Bahāoddīn Mohammad b. Hosein Khatībī Balkhi, better known as Bahā Valad. Edited by the late Forūzānfār in two volumes

containing four parts. Volume I containing 3 parts is based on four manuscripts, one preserved in the Aya Sofia Library, two in other Istanbul collections and the fourth belonging to Dehkhoda (Tehran). The dates of their transcription vary from 747 to 1000 A.H. (1346-1592 A.D.).

Volume II is based on a manuscript preserved in Konya (Turkey) and presumably transcribed in the beginning of the seventh century A.H.

Published by the Ministry of Culture, Tehran, Vol. I, 1333; Vol. II, 1338.

*Meftâh — Meftâh al-Nejât*, a work on the fundamental beliefs of the Sunnis and the Sufis composed by Sheikh al-Islam Ahmad Jâm, known as Zhande Pil in 522 A.H. (1128 A.D.). The main manuscript on which Ali Fâzel based his critical edition is preserved in the Royal Museum Library, Vienna, which seems to have been transcribed not later than the sixth or seventh century A.H. (twelfth or thirteenth century A.D.). Compared with four other manuscripts. Published by Bonyâd-e Farhang-e Iran, Tehran, 1347.

*Maqâmât — Maqâmât-e Hamîdî* by Qâzi Hamîdoddîn 'Omar b. Mahmûd Balkhi (d. 559 A.H./1163-64 A.D.). Edited by Sayyed Ali Akbar of Abarqu on the basis of three manuscripts, two belonging to the late Sa'id Nafici, one transcribed in the seventh century A.H. (thirteenth century A.D.) and the other in 1258 A.H. (1842-43 A.D.). The third manuscript preserved in the British Museum seems to be transcribed in the seventh century A.H.; Isfahan, Mehr, 1339.

*Moqaddame — Moqaddama-e Shâh-Nâma-e Abû Mansuri*, the oldest extant Persian text composed in 346 A.H. (957-58 A.D.). Edited with the help of eleven manuscripts preserved in the libraries of London, Paris, Berlin and Cambridge. Included in the *Majmû'a-e Maqâlât* published in connection with the 1000th birth anniversary of Ferdousi by the Ministry of Culture, Tehran, 1322 and edited by Mohammad Qazvîni.

*Manteq — Manteq-e Dânesh-Nâma-e 'Alâ'i* composed by Avicenna and dedicated to 'Alâoddoule Kâkûye (398-433 A.H./1007-1042 A.D.). Edited by Mohammad Mo'in and Mohammad Meshkât with the help of :

1. A manuscript belonging to 'Abbâs Egbâl.
2. Three manuscripts in the Melli Library, Tehran.
3. Two manuscripts in the Malek Library, Tehran.
4. A manuscript belonging to Mirza Yadollah Nazarpâk.
5. A manuscript belonging to Sa'id Nafici.
6. The lithographed Indian edition.

The editors give no particulars of the manuscripts. Published by Anjoman-e Âthâr-e Melli, Tehran, 1331.

Meibodi — *Kashf al-Asrār Va 'Edat al-Abrār*, a commentary on the Qur'ān in ten volumes known as *Tafsīr-e Khwājeh 'Abdollāh Ansāri* and composed by Abol-Fazl Rashīdoddīn Meibodi in 520 A.H. (1126 A.D.). The fundamental manuscript is preserved in Yeni Came Library, Istanbul. Composed with other two manuscripts of Istanbul and Kabul. Edited by Ali Asghar Hekmat and published by the University of Tehran, 1331.

Naqz — *Ketāb al-Naqz*, better known as *Ba'z Mathāleb al-Navā seb fi Naqz Ba'z Fazā'eh al-Ravāfez* composed in about 560 A.H. (1164-65 A.D.) by Nasīroddīn Abu al-Rashīd 'Abdol Jalil b. Abu al-Hosein b. Abol-Fazl Qazvīnī Rāzī. Its unique manuscript belongs to Mohammad Hosein Sho'a'. Edited by Sayyed Jalāloddīn Ormavi Mohaddes, Tehran, 1331.

Nūr — *Nūr al-'Olūm* of Sheikh Abol-Hasan Kharqāni, the famous saint of the fourth century A.H. (tenth century A.D.), compiled by one of his disciples. Photocopy of the British Museum MS. No. Catalogue Oriental 649.

Nourūz — *Nouruz-Nāme*, a treatise on the origin, history and customs of the Nourūz festival, ascribed to 'Omar Khayyām living in the fifth and sixth centuries A.H. (eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D.). Its unique manuscript is preserved in the Public Library, Berlin. Undated but, according to the editor Mojtaba Minovi, transcribed not later than the seventh century A.H.; Tehran, 1312.

Varaqe — *Varaqe Va Golshāh*, a versified story dating from the fourth (tenth) or the beginning of the fifth century A.H. (eleventh century A.D.). The poet introduces himself as 'Ayyūqi. Its unique manuscript preserved in Istanbul was first introduced by Ahmet Ateş in the Journal of the Faculty of Letters, University of Tehran, Vol. I, No. 4. Photocopy of the same is available in the Central Library, Tehran University. Edited by Dr Zabihollah Safa and published by the University of Tehran, 1343.

Vatvāt — *Nāmehā-e Rashīdoddīn Vatvāt*, a collection of the letters of Vatvāt, the Secretary of Atsiz Khwārazm Shāh dating from the sixth century A.H. (twelfth century A.D.). Edited by Gāsem Tavīsarkāni with the help of two manuscripts in Turkey, transcribed in the sixth and ninth centuries A.H. (twelfth-fifteen centuries A.D.). The photocopy is available in the Melli Library, Tehran, 1338.

Vis — *Vis va Rāmīn*, a mathnavi by Fakhroddīn As'ad Gorgāni, composed in about 446 A.H. (1054-55 A.D.). The main manuscript belongs to the Library of Mohammad b. Murād (1451-1481 A.D.), the Ottoman ruler. Compared with other manuscripts. Edited by Mojtaba Minovi and published by the Ministry of Culture, Tehran, 1338, Brochiem Book Depot.

Hojveiri — *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, on mysticism, composed by Abol-Hasan 'Othmān Jollābi Hojveiri (d. 465 A.H./1072-73 A.D. or a few years

later). Edited by Zhukovski on the basis of the Vienna MS. which is undated but apparently transcribed before 822 A.H. (1419 A.D.), in addition to four other manuscripts. Photo-offset reprint, Tehran, 1336.

Hedāye P — *Hedāyat al-Mota 'allemin fī al-Tibb* by Abu Bakr Rabī' b. Ahmad Ikhveini Bokhāri (d. 373 A.H./983-84 A.D.). The editor Jalāl Matīni based his critical edition on the Bodleian MS. (Oxford), dated 478 A.H. (1085-86 A.D.). Compared with the Fāteh MS. (Istanbul), dated 520 A.H. (1126 A.D.) and Malek MS. (Tehran). Published by the University of Mashhad, 1344.

Hedāye Ph — Photocopy of the Bodleian MS.

Haft — *Haft Peikar*, a Mathnawi by Nezāmi of Ganje, the poet of the sixth and seventh centuries A.H. (twelfth-thirteenth centuries A.D.). Edited by Vahid Dastgardi with the help of 30 manuscripts transcribed between 700 and 1000 A.H. (1300-1591 A.D.); first edition, Tehran, 1316.

Yavāqīt — *Yavāqīt al-'Olūm va Dorāri al-Nojūm*, composed by an anonymous author apparently in the sixth century A.H. (twelfth century A.D.). Manuscripts :

1. Aya Sofia, dated 771 A.H. (1369-70 A.D.)
2. Sāzmān-e Loghat-Nāma-e Dehkhoda` dated 1199 A.H. (1784-85 A.D.). Not authentic.
3. Majles Library, included in a collection.
4. Another manuscript in Aya Sofia.

Edited by Mohammad Tagi Dānesh-pezhouh and published by Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran, Tehran, 1345.

Yūsof — *Qessa-e Yūsof Va Zoleikhā*. Part of the commentary of Sūrābādi on the Qur'an (in an abridged form). The original manuscript belonging to Torbat-e Jām (Khorāsān) is now preserved in the Iran Bāstān Museum, Tehran. Edited by Professor Parviz Nātel Khānlari and published by Amīr Kabīr, Tehran, 1343, under the Masterpieces of Persian Literature Series, No. 1.



*Persian Phonemes*



## Persian Phonemes

WE DO NOT possess enough records and documents containing comprehensive description of Persian phonemes in the early period. Though Dari Persian has remained the official language of Iran for more than one thousand years yet it could not remain immune from the numerous dialects existing in this vast land. In accordance with the social and political conditions of the country these dialects influenced Persian phonetics, word-formation, sentence-building and vocabulary. During this long period the capital of the country was shifted repeatedly from one place to another carrying along with it the official and administrative machinery. During this process the official language was evidently influenced by the local dialects. Even if we take into consideration only the important and powerful dynasties that ruled Iran and overlook the petty local governments, we find that the capital of Iran has been shifting to the farthest cities situated in the east, west, north and south.

No doubt, these centres of the government, far from one another, had their own local dialects which, too, underwent changes in the course of time according to the general law of linguistic evolution. As a result of all this, we have different pronunciation of Persian phonemes. This variation is witnessed even today not only in the spoken but also in the literary language of the far off districts.

1.1. There are two methods to acquire brief information about Persian phonemes in its early period; first, by means of various points discussed in the Arabic lexicons and grammar books while making a comparison between Persian and Arabic languages, or in the Persian works on Poetics when they discuss verse rhythm and rhyme. Secondly, some of the diacritical marks and special symbols are recorded in some old Persian texts in order to specify the exact pronunciation so that the reader may not commit

mistakes.

There are several reasons to believe that when an author discusses about Persian phonemes he means Dari Persian, the official and literary language of Iran, unless he makes it clear that he is talking about a local dialect. Even then all the phonemes of Dari Persian, specially the vowels, have not been recorded uniformly. This variance may by attributed to different local pronunciations or, in other words, to the geographical factors.

2. The oldest sources in which some of the Persian phonemes have been discussed are as follows :

2.1. Sibveih (d. 183 A.H./799-800 A.D.) in his *al-Ketāb*, under the chapter *Bāb etrād al-ebdāl fi al-fārsīyah*, discusses four Persian phonemes which do not exist in Arabic.<sup>1</sup>

2.2. Abu 'Abdullāh Hamzeh Isfahāni (d.c. 350-360 A.H./961-971 A.D.) enumerates eight Persian phonemes that do not exist in Arabic.<sup>2</sup>

2.3. Avicenna dedicates Chapter V of his treatise *Makhārij al-Horūf* to the letters not found in Arabic, and discusses four Persian phonemes under it.<sup>3</sup>

2.4. Badī'ozzamān Natanzi (d. 497 or 499 A.H./1103-05 A.D.) discusses six Persian letters (phonemes) not existing in Arabic.<sup>4</sup>

2.5. Khwāje Nasīroddīn Tūsī, in his *Me'yār al-Ash'ār* describes scientifically five consonants and two vowels of Persian which are not found in Arabic.<sup>5</sup>

2.6. Ibn Doreid (d. 321 A.H./933 A.D.) has mentioned one particular Persian consonant (in relation to Arabic phonemes) in his *Jamharat al-Loghat*.<sup>6</sup>

2.7. Abu Mansūr Javāliqi (d. 540 A.H./1145-46 A.D.) has discussed this point in his *Al-Mo'arrab* but all his information is derived from Sibveih and there is nothing new in it.<sup>7</sup>

2.8. The author of *Dastūr-e Dabīrī* (composed probably in the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century A.H.) mentions four letters not existing in Arabic. He says that a secretary must write each of these letters with three dots in order to avoid confusion.<sup>8</sup>

2.9. Shams Qeis Rāzī (d. in the first half of the seventh century A.H./thirteenth century A.D.), while discussing the rhyme letters, mentions four Persian consonants and such Arabic phonemes that do not exist in Persian.<sup>9</sup>

2.10. Some Persian dictionaries like *Borhān-e Qāte'*, etc., discuss this point in the introduction but all they say is derived entirely from the previous writers and there is nothing new in them.<sup>10</sup>

3. What is gathered from the statements of the above writers about some Persian phonemes—Persian pronunciation in the First Period—is as follows :

3.1. *p*, the voiceless labial consonants is described by Sibveih as a letter pronounced between *b* and *f*. He illustrates it with 'farzand' (off-

spring) and 'fondooq' (hazel-nut). Hamze Isfahāni supports Sībveih but he gives the examples of 'pā' (foot) and 'panīr' (cheese) to specify the pronunciation of *p*. Ibn Doreid also agrees with Sībveih about the pronunciation of *p* but he brings the example of 'pūr' (son). Avicenna calls it 'Double Bā' (Bā-Moshaddad) and illustrates it with the word 'pīrūzī' (victory). The *Dastūr al-Loghat* enumerates *p* written with three dots below, among the purely Persian letters not existing in Arabic.

3.2. «ف» , a voiced labio-dental consonant written with three dots above, is likewise described by Hamze Isfahāni as to be pronounced between *b* and *f* and is illustrated with 'laf' (lip) and 'śaf' (night). Avicenna calls it *f* which is akin to *b* and illustrates it with 'fozūni' (excess). According to Bādī'ozzamān Natanzi it is a Persian phoneme not found in Arabic and is written with three dots above. The author of *Dastūr-e Dabīrī* agrees with Natanzi. Khwāje Nasīroddīn Tūsī believes that it is one of the five consonants, exclusive to Persian, and should be written with three dots above. Shams Qeis Rāzī designates this letter as Persian *f*.

This voiced labio-dental consonant still exists in Persian but not in Arabic. The *v* (*w*) of Arabic included among its 'Soft Letters' is actually a semi-vowel found in some other languages like English, where it is recorded with *w*. This phoneme has had no fixed sound in Persian dialects; it was sometimes indicated with *b* (voiced bilabial) and occasionally with *f* (voiceless labio-dental). The Pahlavi letter «不死» represents this consonant and can be read as any one of the three phonemes.

It appears from the examples given by Hamze Isfahāni that the final *b* was pronounced as *v* (*w*) in Isfahān, i.e. 'lab' (lip) as 'lav' and 'śab' (night) as 'śav'. Still in many Iranian dialects the final *b* is pronounced as the diphthong 'ou' which indicates the second stage of its development. For instance, they pronounce 'śab' (night) as 'śou' and 'āb' (water) as 'ou'. In other cases ف changes into *f* in some other Iranian dialects.

What Avicenna has recorded as «不死» is now current as 'fozūnī' in Dari Persian.

In the manuscripts transcribed before the seventh century A.H. (thirteenth century A.D.) the following three consonants are often interchanged with one another :

*f, v, b.*

*afkandan/avkandan* (to throw).

*kābin/kāvīn* (matrimony).

*faśordan/baśordan* (to squeeze).

*abriśom/afriśom* (silk).

*dūsānīdan/dofsānīdan* (to glue).

These three consonants will be discussed with illustrations in the next chapter.

3.3. •ጂ g. According to Hamze Isfahāni this consonant is pronounced between **ج** j and **س** s and is illustrated with 'çerāy' (lamp) and 'çāst' (morning). (It might have been a local pronunciation existing even today in the form of a compound consonant ts.) Avicenna regards it a letter like **چ** and gives the example of 'çāh' (well).

Shams Qeis Rāzi designates it as Persian *j* (*Jīm-e 'Ajamī*) and explains it with the examples 'çerāy' and 'çākar' (servant). Khwāje Nasīr Tūsi also enumerates this consonant among the purely Persian phonemes while according to *Dastūr al-Loghat* it is one of the six letters not existing in Arabic.

3.4. گ g. Sibveih writes about this phoneme, "This letter pronounced between **ج** and **چ** is changed in Arabic into **ح**. the latter being nearer to it in sound. There was no alternative because **ح** was the only letter akin to **گ**, that existed in Arabic, like **جربز** 'jorboz' (deceiver), **جرت** 'ājor' (brick) and **جورب** 'jūrab' (socks). Occasionally **گ** is changed into **ق** being nearer to it in pronunciation as they say **قرباز** 'qorboz' (gorboz)."

It should be noticed that in the time of Sibveih **گ** was pronounced closely as **ک** in Arabic. This point is confirmed by his statement which says that and *j*, *s* and *y* are pronounced from the middle of the tongue raised between the high palate and the articulation point of *g*. Jurji Zeidān also realized this point when he says that it is gathered from *Ketāb al-'Ain* that **گ** is pronounced like Persian *g*.

According to Hamze Isfahāni, the Persian *g* is pronounced between **ڭ** and **غ** and forms the initial letter in the words **گازر** 'gāzor' (washerman) and **غاڭ** 'gaç' (a kind of lime). The author of *Dastūr al-Loghat* enumerates it among the six Persian letters not existing in Arabic and records it as **ڭ** with three dots below. Khwāje

Nasīr Tūsi includes it among the purely Persian letters not found in Arabic. The author of *Dastūr-e Dabīri* also suggests that **گ** should be written with three dots. Shams Qeis calls it the Persian kāf (Kāf-e A'jami).

3.5. Sibveih makes an interesting remark about the silent *h* and says, "This letter dropped by the Iranians while joining it with other words also changes into **هـ** in Arabic, like *kūse* (beardless) and *mūze* (stockings). It sometimes changes into *hamze* and occasionally into **وـ**, **yـ**, and since it changes into these letters it is regarded among the letters not found in Arabic because Arabic words do not have such ending. This letter changes into **هـ** because in pronunciation **هـ** is nearer to **وـ** which also concludes a word. The position being such this (phoneme) changes in to that (**وـ**) in the same way as the latter changes into **هـ**. But **هـ** is preferred for change because that is a better substitute for the Persian letter pronounced between **وـ** and **هـ**. And sometimes it changes into **وـ** which also starts a word as some people say **کوسق** 'kūsaq', others 'korboq' and yet others 'qorboq'...."

No particular mention of this phoneme is found in other sources and it seems that it lost its particular sound in later periods. Shams Qeis Rāzi simply tells us that the Persian *g* is the substitute of the 'Soft Hamze' (Hamza-e Molayyehā) as in *bandagak* (slave), *bandagān*, *dāyagak* (nurse), *dāyagī* and *dāyāgan*.<sup>12</sup>

What Sibveih meant by the above statement is undoubtedly the final consonant occurring in some suffixes and written in Pahlavi as **گـ**, which was most probably pronounced as **گـ g** from the end of the Sasanid period. Later on, it assumed a nasal sound and was ultimately dropped from the end of the words. Its place was, however, taken by a nasal or simple vowel.

The statement of Shams Qeis Rāzi that *g* is a substitute of 'Soft Hamze' indicates that by the sixth (twelfth) century it (*g*) no longer existed as the final consonant, but during the time of Sibveih (first and second centuries A.H.) this voiced nasal postpalatal plosive consonant existed in the

pronunciation of South Iran, with the result that it was changed into **ق** by the Arabs, and they wrote words like «نام» 'nāma' as «نامج» 'nāmaj (or nāmag)'.

3.6. Among the Persian phonemes not found in Arabic, Hamze Isfahāni mentions a letter pronounced between **ج** j and **ز** z and illustrates it with 'vājār' (=bāzār) and 'hūjestān' (=khūzestān). It seems that the phoneme was pronounced like dz in Isfahān as it exists even today. This assumption is confirmed by the fact that Hamze Isfahāni makes no mention of **ڙ** zh in his book.

3.7. **ڙ** zh. Avicenna calls this phoneme *śīn-e zā'i* and illustrates it with the example of 'zharf' (deep). *Dastūr al-Loghat* and *Me'yār al-Ash'ār* regard this letter among the purely Persian phonemes but give no definition or example. The author of *Dastūr-e Dabīri* explains that this letter should be written with three dots.

3.8. **خو** xv. According to Hamze Isfahāni this phoneme is pronounced between **څ** x and **ڼ** v as found in the words 'xvorśīd' (sun) and 'xvorm' (sleep). Khwāje Nasīr Tūsi says, "There are other letters also produced by the union of two letters, for instance... 'xvoš' pronounced from the end of the palate (velum) mixed with v." Bādi'ozzamān Natanzi also includes this phoneme among the purely Persian letters and writes it as «خو» .

This phoneme is pronounced simultaneously from the uvula and lips. The sound coming out of the uvula resembles x and that by the lips is like v, both of which intermix together to produce the peculiar sound of xv. According to linguistic terminology it may be called a labio-uvular consonant.

This phoneme symbolized by *hv* in Indo-European languages is indicated in the Avestan script by **𐭠** in order to distinguish it from

**څ** represented by **ݘ**, and was regarded as one of the original letters of Old Indo-European languages.<sup>13</sup> It existed in Dari pronunciation in the early centuries of Islam and was indicated by «خو» in

Arabic script.\* After it lost its original pronunciation this phoneme was taken as a kind of *v* and was designated as *Vāv-e Ma'dlūe*. Its original pronunciation can still be heard in Afghanistan, Tajikistan and some districts of Iran.

3.9. δ (*δāl-e mo'jame*). This consonant of Dari Persian is the modified form of the voiceless dental consonant (⌚) *t* which later on changed into the voiced dental ⚩ *d*. This change takes place only when this letter is preceded by a vowel. Shams Qeis Rāzi says, "Every *d* preceded by a long vowel as in 'bād', 'sād', 'sūd', 'śanūd' 'dīd' and 'keliđ' or by a consonant (followed by a short vowel) as in 'namađ' 'sabađ' and 'dađ', is actually the *mo'jame* δ.<sup>14</sup>

Khwāje Nasīr Tūsi quotes the following fragment to differentiate between *d* and δ.

ānān ke be pārsī soxan mī rānand  
dar ma'raz-e dāl δāl rā na-nešānand  
mā qabl agar sāken o joz 'vāy' bovad  
dāl-ast vagarna δāl-e mo'jam xānand.<sup>15</sup>

(Those who speak and write Persian should be careful not to confuse *d* with δ ;

(If no short or long vowel precedes it, it is *d* otherwise it is always the *mo'jam* δ. )

It is not definite when this change took place. In the South Pahlavi texts the consonant *t* following a vowel is always written as ⚩. But as the Pahlavi script has retained its old historical character it is difficult to determine the exact pronunciation of various phonemes by means of this script. It is, however, presumed that this substitution took place or was about to take place in the Middle Iranian languages. The manuscripts transcribed in the early Islamic period do not record this consonant in an uniform way. For instance, the personal ending for the second person plural is sometimes indicated with *t*, e.g., 'ravīt', 'konīt' and 'zanīt' instead of 'ravīd' (go), 'konīd' (do) and 'zanīd' (strike). This variation is occasionally noticed in the same manuscript. Apparently the *t* flanked by two vowels or preceded by a vowel first changed into δ and then into

\* This form has not been generally retained in Arabic texts. It seems that when the Arab authors heard a word containing *xv* from the Iranians they generally recorded it with simple *x* as they had no *xv* in Arabic. But when they copied from a written text, they preserved the Persian form. (Ahmad Tafozzoli, Lahja-Pishin-e Isfahan, included in *Nama-Minovi*, Tehran, 1350, pp. 88-89).

*d*, sooner or later in various parts of the country. Some manuscripts dated from the fourth to seventh centuries A.H. (tenth to thirteenth century A.D.) always record this consonant without a dot above,<sup>16</sup> while some others transcribed up to the tenth century A.H. (sixteenth century A.D.) differentiate between *d* and *ð*.

In this regard the statement of Shams Qeis Rāzi invites our attention. He says, "There is no *mo'jame* *ð* in the language of Ghazni, Balkh and Transoxiana; they use *d* only."<sup>17</sup> The fact that Shams Qeis and Khwāje Nasīr had to formulate or mention the rules for differentiating between *d* and *ð* clearly indicates that during the seventh century A.H. this difference was no longer noticed in the current language of the day. Even prior to it, as stated by Shams Qeis Rāzi, *ð* did not exist in some parts of Iran, and it was pronounced as *d*. Farrokhi Sīstāni composed a qasīda rhyming 'bestadi', 'śodi', 'āmadī', 'īzadī', 'bexradi' with Arabic words like 'mohtadi', 'vājedi' and 'mobtadī' in spite of the fact that the entire set of the former words should have had *ð* instead of *d*.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand poets after him till recent times observed the traditional difference between *d* and *ð* in rhyming.

A few Persian words are still written with *ð* which is pronounced exactly as *z*, e.g., 'gođāštan' (to pass), 'gođāštan' (to leave), 'kāyað' (paper), 'pađiroftan' (to accept), etc.

3.10. *Majhūl Vāv* (ö). According to Sībveih this phoneeme exists in 'śōr' (saltish) and 'āśōb' (terror) which the Arabs pronounce as 'sūr' and 'āśūb' and distort the language because this letter does not exist in Arabic.

Hamze Isfahāni defines the *Majhūl Vāv* as that existing in 'nō' (new) and 'bō' (smell). Khwāje Nasīr includes it among the long vowels peculiar to Persian. According to him, it is pronounced in between *o* and *ə* and is found in 'śōr' (saltish) or 'kōr' (blind).<sup>19</sup>

This vowel still exists in some parts of Iran and in some local dialects but so far as the standard Persian is concerned, it has been substituted by long *ü* without exception.

3.11. *Majhūl Yā* (è). This vowel is described by Hamze as akin to è existing in the words 'sér' (satisfied) and sér (lion).<sup>20</sup> Khwāje Nasīr calls it a letter pronounced between *fathē* (*a*) and *kasre* (*e*) as in the word 'sér' meaning lion or as found in 'dér' (late) and 'zér' (below).

Again the above author while discussing rhyme says, "The verbal *yā* (for the second person singular) as in 'to dar īn soxanī' or the Abstract *yā* as in 'xoś-soxanī' (eloquence) or the Adjectival *yā* as in 'śahrī (urban) is different from the Indefinite *yā* as in 'soxanē az soxanhā' or in verbs like 'agar goftē' 'kāške goftamē' and 'be xāb dīdam ke goftamē'. They are two different letters taken as one by some."<sup>21</sup>

The different pronunciation of Majhūl and Ma'rūf *yā* is still heard in some parts of Iran. In some of the manuscripts transcribed in the fourth and fifth centuries A.H. (tenth, eleventh centuries A.D.) the Majhūl *yā* is written as<sup>22</sup> «ȝ» in order to differentiate it from the Ma'rūf. This difference, however, no longer exists in the standard Persian of Iran. For instance, all the three *yā* in 'mī bīnī' (you see) are pronounced as long ī, whereas in Afghanistan and Tajikistan the first *yā* is pronounced as é as against the last two.

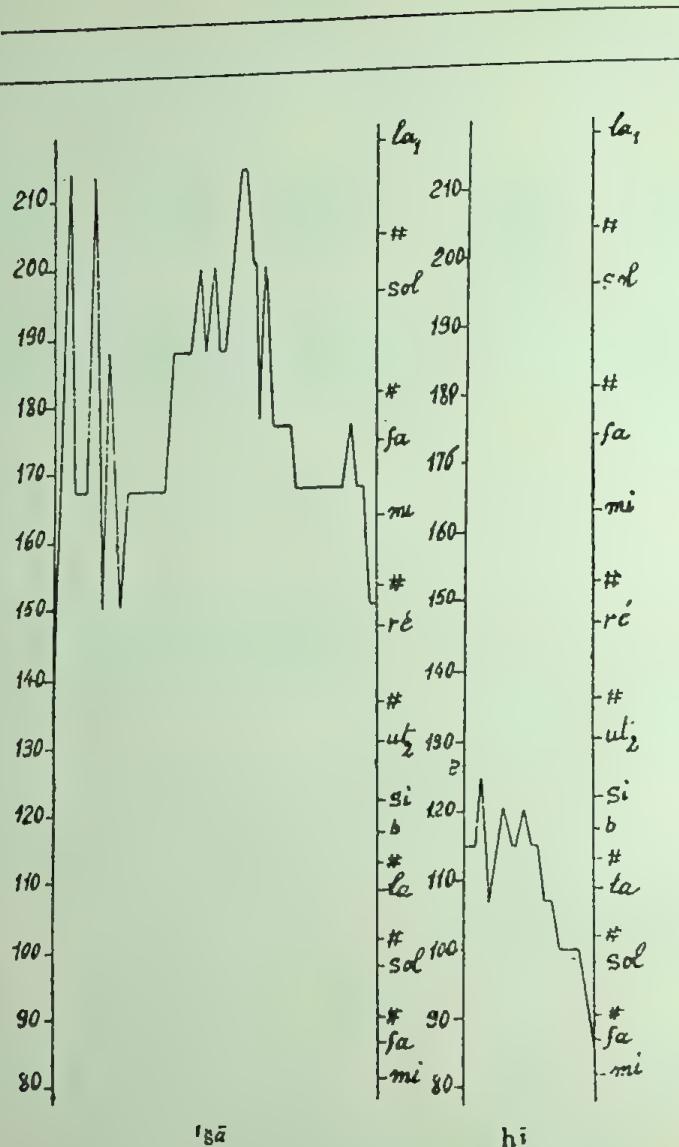
In current Persian, however, a difference is observed in the Indefinite and Verbal *yā* (second person singular) on one hand and the Abstract and Adjectival *yā* on the other hand. In the former case the stress is put on the last but one syllable while in the latter case the stress shifts to the last syllable, e.g.

'sā-hī = a king; you are a king.

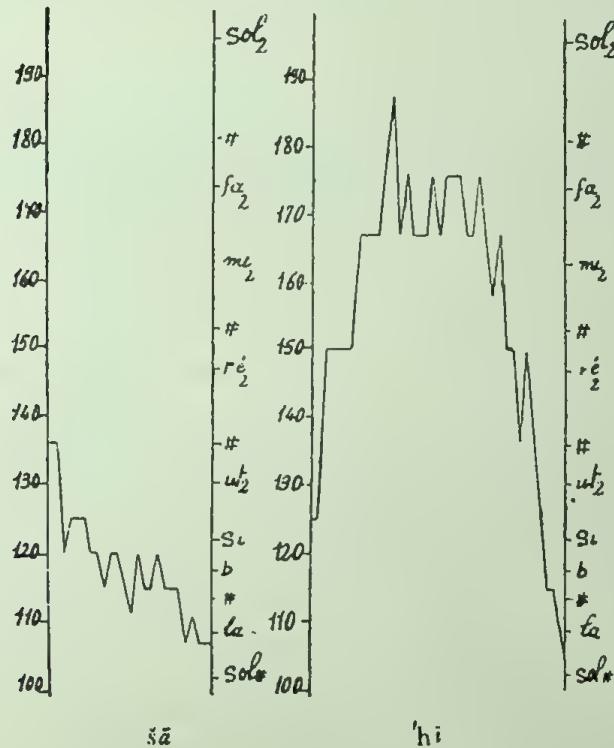
sā-'hī = kingship, pertaining to a king.

The nature of this stress is determined by the high and low sound waves. According to the experiments made by this writer at the Institute of Phonetics, Paris, in 1948 the difference between the high and the low sound waves while uttering a stressed and unstressed syllable is equal to a few half-scales of music.

Below is reproduced a chart recording the high and the low sound waves while uttering both the syllables of the word *sāhī*:



The above chart shows the sound waves produced by speaking the bisyllabic words *sāhī* (meaning 'a king') with the stress on the first syllable. The number on the left indicates the sound wave produced in one second while their equivalent music notes are recorded on the right. It will be seen from the above chart that the first syllable *sā* is lower than *hī* by a few half scales of music.



The second chart shows the sound wave produced by speaking the same word with stress on the second syllable *hī* meaning 'kingship'. Here *hī* is lower than the first syllable *sā* by a few scales. In short, the two vowels designated by the early writer as *majhūl* and *ma'rūf yā* are differentiated in the current Persian only by shifting stress and that too only when the *yā* concludes a word. But we are unable to say whether the vowel defined as akin to *yā* and pronounced in between *fathe* (*a*) and *kasre* (*e*) has the same difference in relation to the *ma'rūf yā* or not. In the modern pronunciation of Afghanistan and Tajikistan this vowel is pronounced as long *è*, which differs from long *i* only in timbre and not in modulation.

3.12. Two diphthongs *ai* and *au* existed in Dari Persian and were defined as *yā* and *vāv* preceded by *a* respectively. In some of the manuscripts transcribed in the second half of the fourth or during the fifth century A.H. words like 'vāi' (he), 'mai' (wine), 'kai' (when), 'maidān' (square), 'raihān' (basil), etc., clearly carry a *fathe* sign on the letter preceding *yā*.<sup>23</sup> But in current Persian these diphthongs are pronounced as *ei* and *ou* respectively.

3.13. Eight purely Arabic consonants adopted in Persian were never pronounced as their Arabic originals. Thus, ط is pronounced like

ت *t*, ض *z* and ظ like ز *z*, ص and ث like

س *s*, ح like ه *h* and غ like همزة *a*. They

have been defined by some authors. Shams Qeis, for instance, describes these letters as 'ه' 'hè' 'sād', 'zād', 'tā', 'zā', 'ain' and 'qāf'.<sup>24</sup> Yāqūt says, "There is no ح in Persian. When this letter occurs in a word the Persians pronounce it as simple *h*. So they pronounce حسن as

حسن (Hasan) and محمد as ماحمد (Mohammad)."<sup>25</sup>

So far as غ *z* and ق *q* are concerned, they have been discussed by this writer in his another work.<sup>26</sup> It may be added here that in some old manuscripts words like طخ 'talk' and names of persons and

places are generally written with ط instead of ت which indicates that *tā* might have had a pronunciation different from *t*.

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## *Phonetic Changes*



## Phonetic Changes

IN THE beginning of Dari Persian many words were not pronounced or written in a fixed uniform way, with the result that we find the same word recorded with different phonemes in the Persian works produced in the early period. These variations might be partly attributed to the style of writing, which itself requires an independent discussion. But the local dialects of the authors, who were born and brought up in different parts of the country and wanted to preserve their local pronunciation, were mainly responsible for variation in the phonemes of the same word. Since no autograph copies of the Persian works produced in the early period or their manuscripts transcribed in the home-town of the authors, and not much after them, are available today, it is difficult to ascertain different local pronunciations and to attribute a pronunciation to a particular place.

Therefore, it has been tried in this chapter to point out different changes in the phonemes, both vowels and consonants.

### i-Vowels

*ā/a*

1.1. *ā* of the last syllable or of a monosyllabic word ending on the consonant *h* is recorded with short *a* in the early texts. It has been called *abbreviation* by the early writers :

rāh/rah, 'path'. (*Bal'ami Ph*, 439)

seyāh/seyah, 'black'. (*Abneye P*, 15)

āngāh/āngah, 'then'. (*Tabari*, 186)

āgāh/āgah, 'aware'. (*Pāk*, 13)

- negāh/negah, 'sight'. (*Qābūs* L, 45)  
 tabāh/tabah, 'ruined'. (*Sūr*, 257)  
 rūbāh/rūbah, 'fox'. (*Asrār*, 39)  
 kūtāh/kūtah, 'short'. (*Bakhteyār*, 205)

1.2. Words consisting of two long ā, change one of them and generally the former, with short a :

- pādāš/padāš, 'compensation'. (*Tabari*, 1795)  
 parastārān/parastarān, 'worshippers'. (*Ibid.*, 296)  
 ārāstagān/ārastagān, 'adorned'. (*Qābūs* L, 45)  
 āsāmande/āsāamande, 'drinker'. (*Meibodi* III, 155)  
 vāmānde/vāmānde, 'left behind'. (*Zamakhshari* I, 249)  
 jūsānīdan/jūsānīdan, 'to cause to boil'. (*Asrār*, 171)  
 xvābānīdan/xvābanīdan, 'to cause to sleep'. (*Pāk*, 69)  
 kārvān/karvān, 'caravan'. (*Zamakhshari* I, 59)

1.3. The long ā followed by a nasal consonant (m, n), or in general, changes into short a in the early texts :

- payāmbarī/payambarī, 'prophethood'. (*Bal'ami* P, 381)  
 tapānçe/tapançe, 'slap'. (*Tabari*, 1605)  
 kālbod/kalbod, 'body'. (*Zamakhshari* I, 170)  
 sūrāx/sūrax, 'hole'. (*Majīd* I, 478)  
 pālhang/palhang, 'halter'. (*Zamakhshari* I, 455)  
 pāsne/paśne, 'heel'. (*Ibid.*, I, 133)  
 kāsnī/kasnī, 'white succory'. (*Abneye* P, 266)  
 tābeş/tabeş, 'luster'. (*Anbeyā* 51, 180)

a/ā

1.4. Many Persian words which are now written with short a are found in the works of this period with long ā :

- ham/hām, 'also'. (*Tabari*, 1758)  
 hamsān/hāmsān, 'resembling'. (*Ibid.*, 709)  
 hamvāre/hāmvāre, 'always'. (*Ibid.*, 1516)  
 hamtā/hāmtā, 'counterpart'. (*Meibodi* VII, 236)  
 nāmzad/nāmzād, 'nominated'. (*Bal'ami* P, 907)  
 dāneśmandān/dāneśmāndān, 'learned'. (*Tabari*, 157)  
 hamsar/hamsār, 'match'. (*Qābūs* L, 55)  
 tohī-sar/tohī-sār, 'empty-headed'. (*Meibodi* I, 79)  
 mahār/māhār, 'reins'. (*Yūsuf*, 21; *Sāmi*, 321)  
 dośman/dośmān, 'enemy'. (*Zamakhshari* I, 240)

xamyāze/xāmyāze, 'yawning'. (*Ibid.*, 330)  
 parastu/parāstu, 'swallow'. (*Abneye P*, 331)  
 rahānīdan/rāhānīdan, 'to free'. (*Tabari*, 507)  
 šavīd/šāvīd, 'become'. (*Ibid.*, 989)  
 nā-sazā/nā-sāzā, 'unworthy'. (*Anbeyā*, 188)  
 āvarīdan/āvārīdan, 'to bring'. (*Masāder I*, 331)  
 jānvarān/jānvārān, 'animals'. (*Cambridge*, 18)

*ā/ō*

## 1.5.

nāsepāsān/nō-sepāsān, 'ungrateful'. ('*Oshr*', 175)  
 nāsepās/nō-sepās, (*Majīd I*, 172, 286, 502; '*Oshr*', 154)  
 nā-sepāsī/nō-sepāsī, 'ungratefulness'. (*Majīd I*, 160, 287, 359; *Pāk*, 25; *Sūr*, 133)

*ā/ī*

## 1.6.

farestādīm/farestīdīm, from *farestādan*, 'to send'. (*Pāk*, 63, 70; '*Oshr*', 190)  
 oftāde/oftīde, 'fallen'. (*Sāmi*, 92, 130)  
 oftād/oftīd, 'fell'. (*Bal'ami Ph*, 14)  
 ūftād/ūftīd, 'fell'. (*Sūr*, 269)  
 beyūftādan/beyūftīdan, 'to fall'. (*Masāder I*, 176)  
 forū-īstād/forū-īstīd, 'halted'. (*Sūr*, 136)  
 īstāde mī bāšand/īstīde mī bāšand, 'might be standing'. (*Tabari*, 600)  
 oftāde bāšad/oftīde bāšad, 'might have fallen'. (*Masāder I*, 358)  
 befarestādīm/befrestīdīm, ('*Oshr*', 36)  
 farestād/frestīd, (*Ibid.*, 117)

*ī/e*1.7. The long *ī* occurring in any part of the word changes into *e*:

dīgar/degar, 'another'. (*Bal'ami P*, 193; *Sīstān*, 332; *Meibodi IX*, 157)  
 sahmğin/sahmgen, 'fearful'. (*Bal'ami P*, 124)  
 gargīn/gargen, 'scabby'. (*Tabari*, 368)  
 şarmğin/şarmgen, 'shy'. (*Qābūs Ph*, fol. 1a)  
 şūxğin/şūxgen, 'spirited'. (*Masāder I*, 299)  
 andūhgğin/andūhgen, 'sad'. (*Hojveiri*, 139; *Sūr*, 117; *Sāmi*, 143; *Meibodi IX*, 141)  
 xaşmgğin/xaşmgen, 'angry'. (*Masāder I*, 308)  
 namğin/namgen, 'moist'. (*Ibid.*, I, 314)  
 gūştīn/guşten, 'fleshy'. (*Sāmi*, 133)

- bemīram/bemeram, 'I die'. (*Meibodi* I, 239, 422)  
 çīnam/çenam, from çīdan, 'to pick'. (*Asrār*, 151)  
 beçīnad/beçenad. (*Tabī* 'iyātī, 40)  
 gozidastam/gozedastam, 'I have selected'. (*Tabari*, 343)  
 gerīstan gerestan, 'to weep'. (*Qesas*, 200, 243, 429)  
 mafar mīdbāafarebād, 'lest it tempt'. (*Majīd* I, 608)

*e/ī*

1.8. The *kasre* (*e*) found in many words of standard Persian is written with long *ī* in the early texts. Presumably both here and in the examples given under 1.6, the *kasre* (*e*) changes into Majhul é and not *ī*:

- šegeft/segīst, 'wonder'. (*Bal'ami* Ph, 130)  
 ferešte/ferīste, 'angel'. (*Ibid.*, P, 16; *Tabari*, 828;  
*Hedāye* Ph, 9; *Abneye* P, 2; *Sajestāni*, 2; *Pāk*  
 VIII, 21; *Sistān*, 40; *Sūr*, 16, *Sāmi*, 63; *Meibodi*  
 VIII, 22)  
 zeštī/zīštī, 'evil'. (*Tabari*, 1654)  
 baxsēs/baxsīš, 'pardon'. (*Zamakhshari* I, 145)  
 rešte/rīste, 'thread'. (*Lesān*, 147)  
 konjed/konjid, 'sesame'. (*Qābūs* Ph, fol. 1a)  
 gōsāle/gōsälī, 'calf'. (*Tabari*, 718)  
 hargez/hargīz, 'ever'. ('*Oshr*, 339)

*ī/ī*

1.9. ī sometimes changes into the long ī in the texts of the early period:

- hanūz/hanīz, 'still'. (*Tabari*, 1734)  
 bīhūsī/vīhīsī, 'fainting'. (*Sāmi*, 265)  
 kalüçe/kalīce, 'pancake'. (*Zamakhshari* I, 349)

*ū/ō*

1.10. The long ī often changes into o in the Persian of the early period. This process is also known as *abbreviation*:

- andūh/andoh, 'grief'. (*Bal'ami* Ph, 148; *Ibid.*, P, 393;  
*Tabari*, 393; *Abol-Heitham*, 78; *Qesas*, 132;  
*Meibodi* III, 108)  
 farāmūš/farāmoš, 'forgotten'. (*Bal'ami* P, 200)  
 hūs/hoš, 'intellect'. (*Abneye* Ph, 69; *Lesān*, 91, *Sistān*,  
 315; *Qābūs* L, 42, *Zamakhshari* I, 511; *Masāder*

I, 81)

- bīhūde/bihode, 'absurd'. (*Pāk*, 13; *Meibodi* VII, 41)  
 būd/bod, 'was'. (*Abol-Heitham*, 84; *Asrār*, 113)  
 kūh/koh, 'mountain'. (*Sīstān*, 355)  
 pūst/post, 'skin'. (*Qesas*, 224; *Zamakhshari* I, 108)  
 rūstā/rostā, 'village'. (*Safar*, 101)  
 šokūh/šokoh, 'majesty'. (*Sūr*, 332)  
 dūst/dost, 'friend'. (*Tarjomān*, 178)

It may be noticed that the words quoted above are recorded in either way.

e/o

1.11. The *kasre* indicated by *e* and following the initial letter is clearly marked with *zamme* (*o*) in some manuscripts :

- pesan/posar, 'son'. (*Bal'ami* Ph, 446; *Varaqe*, 40)  
 pelk/polk, 'eyelid'. (*Masāder* I, 339)  
 setabr/sotabr, 'thick'. (*Ibid.*)  
 gešnīz/gošnīz, 'coriander'. (*Abneye* P, 202)

1.12. The verbal *b* starting the Preterite, the Aorist and the Imperative is marked with *zamme* in some manuscripts instead of the usual *kasre* (*e*) :

- bogoštī, 'you left'. (*Azīm*, 4)  
 bobar, 'take'. (*Ibid.*, 12)  
 bokošāyad, 'he opens'. (*Abneye* Ph, 15, 17)  
 borraftand, 'they went'. (*Tabari* Ph, 296)  
 boravad, 'he goes'. (*Sāmi*, 78)

a/e

1.13. During the last one thousand years Persian pronunciation has tended from *fathe* (*a*) to *kasre* (*e*). This change is evident in all the words ending on *a*, the only exception being the negative *na*. No other word in the standard and official Persian of Iran ends on *a*. The substitution of *a* with *e* takes place in other parts of a word as well.

1.13.1. In most of the Persian texts dating from the early period where the diacritical marks have been put by the scribe, all the nouns and the Past Participle ending on the silent *h* carry a *fathe* (*a*) on the last but one letter :

- sīna, 'bosom'. (*Hedāye* Ph, 45)  
 bahra, 'portion'. (*Ibid.*, 117)  
 xāna, 'home'. (*Qābūs* Ph, fol. 22a)  
 hamīsa, 'always'. (*Ibid.*, fol. 18b)

- hama, 'all'. (*Ibid.*, 5 fol. 4a)  
 nāma, 'letter'. (*Tarjomān Ph*, 223)  
 sarxonda, 'fortunate'. (*Varaqe*, 14)  
 kāsa, 'bowl'. (*Sāmi*, 215)  
 pāra, 'part'. (*Ibid.*, 238)  
 zenda, 'living'. (*Hedāye Ph*, 13)  
 hafta, 'week'. (*Qābūs Ph*, fol. 18b)  
 mīva, 'fruit'. (*Ibid.*, fol. 17a)  
 peivasta, 'joined'. (*Hedāye Ph*, 31)  
 sūxta, 'burnt'. (*Abneye Ph*, 44a)  
 jūṣida, 'boiled'. (*Ibid.*, fol. 84a)  
 śanavanda, 'listener'. (*Qābūs Ph*, fol. 1b)  
 setūda, 'praised'. (*Ibid.*, fol. 10b)  
 besakofta, 'blooming'. (*Varaqe*, 13)  
 āzorda, 'afflicted'. (*Ibid.*, 15)  
 āšofta, 'distracted'. (*Ibid.*, 100)  
 poxta, 'cooked'. (*Sāmi*, 247)  
 šoda, 'been'. (*Ibid.*, 146)

1.13.2. The same *fathe* (*a*) is observed on the last but one letter of the Past Participle which forms a verb along with an auxiliary :

- rafta būd, 'had gone'. (*Hedāye Ph*, 98; *Qābūs P*, fol. 8a)  
 gosta ast, 'has said'. (*Ibid.*, fol. 9a)  
 karda ast, 'has done'. (*Ibid.*, fol. 22b)  
 karda bāśad, 'might have done'. (*Ibid.*, fol. 23a)  
 xorda bāśi, 'might have eaten'. (*Ibid.*, fol. 19b)  
 karda śavad, 'shall be done'. (*Ibid.*, fol. 12a)

Some Iranian districts still retain the original *fathe* (*a*) in their pronunciation whereas some others are changing to *kasre* (*e*). For instance, the people of Kermān and Fārs pronounce a noun or Past Participle ending on *h* with *kasre* but when the latter forms part of a verb, they pronounce it with *fathe*. Thus, they would say '*xāne*' (home) but, '*rafta būdam*' (I had gone).

1.13.3. The last *fathe* is retained when such words ending on silent *h* are joined by a personal pronoun accusative. In Tehran and many other parts of Iran when a personal pronoun in the accusative case is added to the Preterite, *kasre* (*e*) comes in between them, but when it is joined to the Perfect, *fathe* (*a*) comes in between. As for the stress, it also changes in either case :

*dīdet*, (He saw you.)  
*dīdat*, (He has seen you.)

1.14. Words concluding on the silent *h* when joined by possessive adjective, retain the original *fathe* (*a*) :

- xāna-m* (my house).
- xāna-mān* (our house).
- xāna-t* (thy house).
- xāna-tān* (your house).
- xāna-s* (his, her house).
- xāna-sān* (their house).

1.15. In most of the extant manuscripts the preposition 'be' (to, in, into, at, with, on, etc.) is marked with *fathe* instead of the usual *kasre*. This is particularly in such cases where the original *δ* or *d* has been restored on account of its union with the initial vowel of the subsequent word :

- bedu/baδu*. (*Abneye Ph*, 133a; *Varage*, 13; *Sāmi*, 105)
- bedān/badān*. (*Qābūs Ph*, f. 1b; *Sāmi*, 12; *Aghrāz*, 69, 72)
- besūy/basūy*. ('*Azīm*, 2)
- bevei/bavei*. (*Ibid.*, 6)

1.16. Similarly many other Persian words have *fathe* (*a*) in the initial syllable as against the present *kasre* (*e*) :

- jegar/jagar*, 'liver'. (*Hedāye Ph*, 22)
- šekam/šakam*, 'belly'. (*Abneye Ph*, 61a)
- nešān/našān*, 'sign'. (*Hedāye Ph*, 100)
- behešt/bahešt*, 'paradise'. (*Varage*, 4)
- çeşide/çaşide*, 'tasted'. (*Bakhteyār*, 38)
- zebarīn/zabarīn*, 'upper'. (*Hedāye Ph*, 55)
- šešom/şašom*, 'sixth'. (*Ibid.*, 124)
- pelk/palak*, 'eyelid.' (*Abneye P*, 163)

1.17. Occasionally the medial syllable is also marked with *fathe* (*a*) but it is very rare :

- dānestan/dānastan*, 'to know.' (*Hedāye Ph*, 13, 104)
- ai/ei*

1.18. The diphthong (*ai*) is marked with *fathe* in most of the manuscripts but, as stated earlier, this diphthong is now pronounced without exception as *ei* and not *ai* :

- mei/mai*, 'wine'. (*Bal'ami Ph*, 443)

vei/vai, 'he, she' (*Qābūs Ph*, 2a; 'Azīm, 1, 2, 7, 10, 16)  
seil/sail, 'flood'. (*Varaqe*, 10)

*o/a*

1.19. Many words carrying a *zamme* (*o*) on the initial letter are marked with *fathé* (*a*) in some old manuscripts, which seems nearer to the original in view of the word root :

xorūs/xarūs, 'cock.' (*Abnēye P*, 258)  
ordibehešt/ardibehešt, 'second month of the Iranian calendar'. (*Sāmi*, 462)  
boland/baland, 'high'. (*Ibid.*, 476)

*o/ō*

1.20. The first syllable of some words is written with *vāv* in old manuscripts which either indicates the *majhūl vāv* (*ō*) or long *zamme* (*ū*). It has been replaced in modern pronunciation by simple *o* :

ommīd/ōmmīd, ūmmīd, 'hope'. (*Bal'ami Ph*, 18, 32 ; *Tabari*, 1491, 1535; *Pāk*, 10; *Hojveiri*, 215; *Sūr*, 245; *Varaqe*, 110, 116; *Asrār*, 12; *Bakhteyār*, 54, 72; 'Azīm, 19)  
ostādon/ōftādan, ūftādan, 'to fall'. (*Bal'ami Ph*, 80; *Tabari*, 1036; *Sajestāni*, 5; *Pāk*, 37; *Hayy*, 25, 40; *Sīstān*, 58; *Asrār*, 293; *Tarjomān*, 165)

### Initial Syllable

1.21. The short vowels *a*, *o* and *e* starting a word and generally written with *hamze* in Persian script are placed after the next consonant. Since *hamze* is dropped in this process it has been called 'abbreviation' by early writers :

afsāne/fasāne, 'fiction'. (*Qābūs Ph*, 91; *Zamakhshari I*, 487)  
abrišom/barišom, 'silk'. (*Abol-Heitham*, 105)  
afzāyad/fazāyad, 'increases'. (*Meibodi I*, 732)  
establ/setabl, 'stable'. (*Sūr*, 380)  
estaxr/setaxr, 'pond'./*Bal'ami Ph*, 35)

1.22. This process is, however, quite often reversed in the texts of this period, i.e., the short vowel coming after the first consonant in modern writing is put before it in the early texts. In other words, a *hamze* is added to these words :

- farāz/afarāz, 'up, again, under, etc.' (*Tabari*, 655, 656; *Hayy*, 16; *Sāmi*, 85; *Sajestāni*, 10)  
 setīze/estīze, 'dispute'. (*Bal'ami Ph*, 425)  
 šekam/eškam, 'belly'. (*Ibid.*, P, 582)  
 sepāram/espāram, 'I submit'. (*Ibid.*, 207)  
 sepor dan/espordan, 'to entrust'. (*Tabari*, 774)  
 ūnīd/ešnīd, 'listened'. (*Sīstān*, 157)  
 ūtāb/eštāb, 'haste'. (*Tabari*, 807)  
 ūtāftan/eštāftan, 'to make haste'. (*Ibid.*, 1328)  
 setām/estām, 'ornamented part of saddle'. (*Varage*, 104)  
 ūtor/oštor, 'camel'. (*Bal'ami Ph*, 22; *Abneye Ph*, 27b; *Sajestāni*, 56; *Pāk*, 69; *Sīstān*, 54)  
 sotūr/ostūr, 'cattle'. (*Bal'ami P*, 1003; *Hojveiri*, 114; *Sūr*, 69)  
 sotūn/ostūn, 'pillar.' (*Zamakhshari I*, 131)

1.23. In both the above cases, 1.21 and 1.22 the shifting vowel sometimes changes into another short vowel, probably to conform with the vowel contained in the ensuing syllable :

- konūn/aknūn, 'now', (*Bal'ami P*, 369; *Sistan*, 314; *Varage*, 38)  
 fosūs/afsūs, 'alas' : (*Tabari*, 133)  
 fozūdan/afzūdan, 'to increase.' (*Sīstān*, 40; *Meibodi III*, 19)  
 forūxtan/afrūxtan, 'to inflame'. (*Sīstān*, 352; *Hojveiri*, 220; *Meibodi VIII*, 238)

In the following examples there seems to be no conformity in the changing vowels :

- fešordan/afšordan, 'to squeeze.' (*Tabari*, 2049)  
 fekandan/afkandan, 'to throw'. (*Sīstān*, 15; *Varage*, 34; *Meibodi I*, 626)

### Final Vowel

1.24. The final *a* represented by silent *h* (and now pronounced as *e* (1.10.) is sometimes represented by the long *ā* and written with *alef*:

- pāšne/pāšnā, 'heel'. (*Pāk*, 69, 74, 86)  
 mardāne/mardānā, 'manly'. (*Anbeyā*, 346)  
 gande/gandā, 'stinking'. (*Masāder I*, 325, 27)

1.25. Some words written in the early texts with silent *h* denoting *a*, have dropped it in the later period :

- āškār/āškāra, 'clear, open'. (*Tabari*, 425)  
 čerk/čerka, 'dirt'. (*Zamakhshari I*, 156)  
 xorjīn/xorjīna, 'saddle bag'. (*Ibid. I*, 153)  
 zanax/zanaxa, 'chin'. (*Ibid. I*, 184)  
 mākeyān/mākeyāna, 'hen'. (*Ibid. I*, 478)  
 nāçār/nāçāra, 'helpless'. (*Meibodi*, VIII, 108)  
 pendār/pendāra, 'fancy'. (*Ibid. VIII*, 149)  
 most/mosta, 'trouble'. (*Zamakhshari I*, 483)

*a/o*

1.26. The personal ending of the first person singular to the Preterite and the Aorist is now pronounced as *am*, like *raftam*, *mī ravam*. But in some old manuscripts such verbs carry a *zamme* on the letter preceding *m*, pronounced as *om*. This might have been due to the influence of local dialect as found even today in some regional pronunciation :

- baram/barom. ('*Azīm*', 3)  
 tarsīdam/tarsīdom. (*Ibid.*, 4)  
 mīporsam/mīporsom. (*Ibid.*, 5)  
 šavam/šavom. (*Ibid.*, 18)  
 dāram/dārom. (*Ibid.*, 19)  
 deham/dehom. (*Bakhsh*, 106)  
 baram/barom. (*Ibid.*, 162)  
 dāram/dārom. (*Ibid.*, 52)  
 karde-am/karde-om. (*Ibid.*, 240)  
 manom. ('*Azīm*', 51)  
 allāhom. (*Ibid.*)  
 peiγāmbarom. (*Ibid.*, 26)  
 mī gozāram/mī gozārom. (*Ibid.*)  
 ravom. (*Ibid.*, 50)  
 nayāram/nayārom. (*Ibid.*, 26)  
 peiγāmbar-e xodāyom. (*Ibid.*, 29)

## 2. Consonants

*b/v*

2.1. The voiced bilabial consonant *b* and the voiced labio-dental fricative *v* are more often interchanged with each other in the Persian of the early period than what is found later on. This interchange is noticed in the initial, medial as well as the final syllables :

2.2. *V* used in place of *b* in the initial syllable :

bār/vār, 'burden'. (*Anbeyā*, 123, 128; *Sāmi*, 332; *Sūr*, 289; *Meibodi II*, 6; *Ibid. V*, 96)

bālin/vālin, 'bedside'. (*Sūr*, 219)

- barnā/varnā, 'youth'. (*Tabari*, 1153; *Meibodi* III, 328)  
 barde/varde, 'slave'. (*Anbeyā*, 434)  
 barzgarān/varzgarān, 'farmers'. (*Abneye Ph*, 73)  
 bīhode/vīhode, 'absurd'. (*Tabari*, 964)  
 bīzār/vizār, 'disgusted'. (*Sūr*, 31, 213, 360)  
 bāyestan/vāyestan, 'to be necessary'. (*Tabari*, 871; *Asrār*, 299, 300, 308; *Meibodi* II, 699; III, 763)  
 bar/var, 'on, at, etc'. (*Tabari*, 934, 989; *Meibodi* I, 116, 120)

*bī/vī :*

- bīrāh/vīrāh, 'astray'. (*Tabari*, 903)  
 bī-sāmān/vī-sāmān, 'poor'. (*Tabari*, 960)  
 vībāk, 'fearless'. (*Sāmi*, 51)  
 vībāng, 'soundless'. (*Ibid.*, 54)  
 vīsīr, 'without milk'. (*Ibid.*, 330)  
 bā/vā, (*Ibid.*, 242; *Asrār*, 133, 166, 212; *Qesas*, 244)

2.3. *V* used in place of *b* in the medial and final syllables :

- angabīn/angavīn, 'honey'. (*Tabari*, 873)  
 abre/avre, 'outside of a garment'. (*Asrār*, 35)  
 abrīsom/avrīsom, 'silk'. (*Zamakhshari* I, 289)  
 tabāh/tavāh, 'ruined'. (*Tabari*, 594, 877)  
 tābes/tāveś, 'brilliance'. (*Meibodi* IX, 198, 199)  
 tābe/tāve, 'frying-pan'. (*Zamakhshari*, I, 140, 280; *Masäder*, I, 92)  
 beyābān/beyāvān, 'desert'. (*Qesas*, 244)  
 tābam/tāvam, from tāftan, 'to shine'. (*Meibodi*, IX, 140)  
 tābad/tāvad, (*Sūr*, 147; *Meibodi*, I, 552)  
 tābande/tāvande, 'shining'. (*Meibodi* II, 376)  
 darband/darvand, 'barrier', name of a fortress. (*Zamakhshari*, I, 113)  
 zabān/zavān, 'language'. (*Tarjomān*, 153)  
 zabāne/zavāne, 'flame'. (*Tabari*, 987; *Sāmi*, 168)  
 kābīn/kāvīn, 'matrimony'. (*Bal'ami P*, 264; *Masäder* I, 256; *Meibodi* I, 615; *Sūr*, 344; *Majid* II, 400; *Sāmi*, 149)  
 gerībān/gerīvān, 'collar'. (*Sāmi*, 159)  
 garmābe/garmāve, 'hot bath'. (*Bal'ami P*, 839; *Sāmi*, 526; *Samak D* III, 311)  
 lābe/lāve, 'supplication'. (*Anbeyā*, 61)  
 šetābīdan/šetāvīdan, 'to make haste'. (*Tabari*, 826, 1039; *Meibodi* IX, 4, 156)

tāb/tāv, 'warmth'. (*Sāmi*, 292)  
 tīr-partāb/tīr-partāv, 'arrow-throw'. (*Zamakhshari I*, 58, 415)

farīb/farīv, 'fraud'. (*Tabari*, 878)  
 nāb/nāv, 'pure'. (*Zamakhshari I*, 49)

Similarly the suffix *bān* is found as *vān* in most of the sources. We quote here a few examples without quoting their references :

oštovān, 'camel-driver'.  
 bādvān, 'sail'.  
 bāzvān, 'tax-officer'.  
 pāsvāni, 'watch'.  
 poštīvān, 'supporter'.  
 xarvān, 'ass-owner'.  
 darvān, 'gatekeeper'.  
 dīdevān, 'sentinel'.  
 razvān, 'keeper of vineyard'.  
 zendānvān, 'jailer'.  
 sārvān, 'camel-driver'.  
 sāyevān, 'canopy'.  
 sagvāni, 'dog-keeping'.  
 gāovān, 'herdsman'.  
 mīzvān, 'host'.  
 negahvān, 'guard'.

#### 2.4. *B* used in place of *v* in the initial syllable :

varzīdan/barzīdan, 'to cultivate'. (*Anbeyā*, 245; *Hojveiri*, 51, 392; *Sūr*, 49; *Masāder I*, 84; *Sāmi*, 57; *Meibodi IV*, 410; *Asrār*, 340)

varzeš/barzeš, 'exercise'. (*Hojveiri*, 14, 19)

vazān/bazān, 'blowing'. (*Tarjomān*, 236; *Meibodi I*, 434)

vazay/bazay, 'a kind of lizard'. (*Anbeyā*, 189, 191; *Sāmi*, 347; *Masāder*, I, 209; *Sūr*, 135; *Asrār*, 215)

vīrān/bīrān, 'ruin, desolate'. (*Tabari*, 473; *Majīd I*, 101, 161, 163; *Meibodi I*, 666; *Bal‘ami*, P, 726)

vīzhe/bīzhe, 'special'. (*Tabari*, 592)

vīrāni/bīrāni, 'ruin', etc. (*Seyāsat Darke*, 177)

#### 2.5 *B* used in place of *v* in the medial syllable :

tarāvīdan/tarābīdan, 'to drop'. (*Masāder I*, 207, 229)  
 xāvarān/xābarān, 'east'. (*Asrār*, 359, 386)

- rīvās/rībās, 'sorrel.' (*Abneye Ph*, 55b)  
 kāve/kābe, 'an Iranian smith'. (*Tabari*, 1154, 1156)  
 naveštan/nabeštan, 'to write'. (most of the sources)  
 nānvā/nānbā, 'baker'. (*Tabari*, 944; *Hayy*, 30)  
 tāvān/tābān, 'indemnity'. (*Yūsof*, 51)

2.6. Words generally starting with *b* are recorded with *f* in some old texts. But it is not definite whether it indicates the existing Persian voiceless labio-dental consonant or the typical Persian *f*, pronounced as *v* and written with three dots above. The *f* of these words, however, carries the usual one dot above :

- bar/far, 'on'. (*Kohan*, 5)  
 bā/fā, 'with'. (*Ibid.*, 6)  
 barū/farū, 'on it'. (*Ibid.*, 33)  
 bāz/fāz, 'again'. (*Ibid.*, 5).  
 bīdād/fidād, 'tyranny'. (*Ibid.*, 6)  
 bigānagān/fīgānagān, 'strangers'. (*Ibid.*, 40)  
 bāzgašt/fāzgašt, 'return'. (*Ibid.*, 6)  
 bīzār/fīzār, 'disgusted'. (*Ibid.*, 48, 76)  
 bīdānešī/fidānešī, 'ignorance'. (*Ibid.*, 50)  
 bīixeradān/fīixeradān, 'stupid'. (*Ibid.*, 50)  
 bīrāhān/fīrāhān, 'astray'. (*Ibid.*, 50)  
 bīçāre/fīçāre, 'helpless'. (*Ibid.*, 51, 123)  
 bar šomā bar/far šomā far. (*Ibid.*, 42)

2.7. The voiceless bilabial *p* is sometimes used in place of the voiced bilabial *b* in the initial, medial and final syllables :

- bedrūd/pedrūd, 'farewell'. (*Qābūs P*, 96)  
 bāzh/pāzh, 'tax'. (*Zamakhshari I*, 246)  
 bāfande/pāfande, 'weaver', (*Ibid.*, 287)  
 bestar/pestar, 'bed'. (*Ibid.*, 272)  
 xosbīdan/xospīdan, 'to sleep'. (*Hayy*, 27)  
 zūbīn/zūpīn, 'javelin'. (*Safar*, 68; *Tarjomān*, 173)  
 kabk/kapk, 'partridge'. (*Zamakhshari I*, 473)  
 sabad/sapad, 'basket'. (*Ibid. I*, 153)  
 asb/asp, 'horse'. (*Hayy*, 35; *Sajestāni*, 56, 60;  
*Anbeyā*, 457; *Safar*, 53, 65)

It is, however, difficult to say definitely where these two letters *b* and *p* have been interchanged because both were generally written with one dot below.

*b/m*

2.8.

*farībāndan/farīmāndan*, ‘to cause to deceive’. (*Pāk*, 37)  
*naqb/naqm*, ‘mine’. (*Samak B I*, 75, 77)

*p/v*

2.9. Some words written with *p* in standard Persian are found in the texts of this period with *v* although such examples are rare :

*tapeš/taveš*, ‘beating, heat’. (*Sāmi*, 422; *Qesas*, 169)  
*çārpā/çārvā*, ‘quadruped’. (*Samak II*, 158)

*t/θ*

2.10. Some words have the voiceless alveolar θ instead of *t* as current in the standard Persian of today :

*tofl/tofāle/θofl*, ‘refuse, scum’. (*Abneye P*, 43)  
*katīrā/kaθīrā*, ‘gum-tragacanth’. (*Ibid.*, 17, 30)  
*tūt/tūθ*, ‘mulberry’. (*Ibid. Ph.* 102b)

*t/d*

2.11. Some words are found with *d* in old texts instead of the usual *t* :

*sar-gazīt/sar-gazīd*, ‘tribute’. (*Kohan*, 6)  
*mazget/mazged*, ‘mosque’. (*Ibid.*, 39)  
*tābūt/tābūd*, ‘coffin’. (*Ibid.*, 111; *Tabari*, 1602)  
*śast/śasd*, ‘sixty’. (*Zamakhshari I*, 371)  
*kośtid/kośdīd*, from *kośtan*, ‘to kill’. (*Kohan*, 133)  
*fartūt/fartūd*, ‘decrepit’. (*Oshr*, 232)

*t/k*

2.12.

*zamoxt/zamoxk*, ‘astringent’. (*Sāmi*, 135)

*j/ç*

2.13. Words written with *j* are sometimes found with *ç* in old texts :

*sārūj/sārūç*, ‘plaster of lime and sand’. (*Zamakhshari I*, 50)

*āmāj/āmāç*, ‘target’. (*Ibid. I*, 303)  
*jūje/çūçe*, ‘chicken’. (*Ibid. I*, 474, 476)  
*jūlāhe/çūlāhe*, ‘weaver’. (*Ibid.*, 115)

*j/x*

2.14. Some words containing *j* have been written with *x* in the early texts :

*esfanāj/sepānāx*, 'spinach'. (*Hedāye Ph*, 130)  
*esfānāx* (*Abneye Ph*, 11b)

*j/zh*

2.15. The consonants *j* and *zh* are interchanged with each other in the Persian of this period as against the standard Persian :

*lājavard/lāzhavard*, 'lapiz lazuli'. (*Zamakhshari I*, 337; *Varaqe*, 25, 27; *Sāmi*, 157)  
*kajāve/kazhāpe*, 'camel litter'. (*Zamakhshari I*, 150; *Majīd I*, 221)  
*lajan/lazhan*, 'mud'. (*Abneye Ph*, 53b; *Meibodi VIII*, 531)  
*hījde/hīzhde*, 'eighteen'. (*Safar*, 8)  
*hejde/hezhde*, 'eighteen'. (*Bal'ami Ph*, 27; *Hedāye Ph*, 32; *Pāk*, 77, 84; *Sistān*, 346, 393, 400; *Qābūs P*, 52)  
*kaj/kazh*, 'crooked'. (*Bal'ami Ph*, 99, 139; *Ibid. P*, 335; *Tabari*, 503, 511, 816; *Lesān*, 90, 145)  
*bāj/bāzh*, 'tax'. (*Pāk*, 21; *Zamakhshari I*, 246; *Meibodi III*, 669, 675)  
*jūje/jūzhe*, 'chicken'. (*Hedāye Ph*, 129; *Abneye P*, 225, 226; *Ibid. Ph*, 22b; *Zamakhshari I*, 468; *Masāder I*, 127)  
*sorxje/sorxzhe*, 'measles'. (*Masāder I*, 65; *Sāmi*, 264)  
*gīje/gīzhe*, 'giddy'. (*Abneye P*, 51)

*j/ś*

2.16.

*hejde/heśde*, 'eighteen'. (*Zamakhshari I*, 370; *Meibodi III*, 416; *IV*, 91; *VII*, 484)

*j/g*

2.17.

*sīrjān/sīrgān*, 'name of a city'. (*Sistān*, 296; *Hojveiri*, 215)  
*ādārbāyjān/ādārbādgān*, 'name of a province'. (*Majīd I*, 281)  
*zāj/zāg*, 'alum'. (*Zamakhshari I*, 50)  
*zanjān/zangān*, 'name of a city'. (*Bal'ami Ph*, 51; *Hojveiri*, 215)

āðarbājān/āðarbāygān, 'name of a province'. (*Bal-*  
 'ami Ph, 15, 18)  
 bādanjān/pādangān, 'brinjal'. (*Hedāye Ph*, 130;  
*Zamakhshari I*, 82)  
 taranjabīn/tarangabīn, 'Manna'. (*Tabari*, 993; *Majīd*  
*I*, 72)  
 nāranj/nārang, 'orange'. (*Zamakhshari I*, 106)

## ç/zh

2.18. Examples of words containing *zh* instead of the current ç are limited because in most of the old manuscripts it is written with one dot :

pāyçe/pāyzhe, 'trousers'. (*Sāmi*, 160)  
 kalāç/kalāzh, 'squint-eyed'. (*Zamakhshari I*, 478)  
 daryāçe/daryāzhe, 'lake'. (*Hodūd*, 16)

## x/γ

## 2.19.

çarx/çary, 'wheel'. (*Zamakhshari I*, 467)

## d/t

2.20. Words containing the voiced dental *d* in the standard Persian, when preceded by a vowel, are often found with the voiceless dental *t* in the early period. It indicates that these words were originally pronounced with *t*. But in some manuscripts these words are recorded with δ (δāl-e mo'jam) instead of *t*, which shows that δ is the middle stage between *t* and *d*:

rād/rāt, 'liberal'. (*Zamakhshari I*, 217)  
 dāmādi/dāmāti, 'the relation of son-in-law'. (*Ibid. I*,  
 340)  
 šanbalid/šanbalit, 'fenugreek'. (*Ibid. I*, 90)  
 gonbad/gonbat, 'dome'. (*Ibid. I*, 126)  
 gazid/gazit, 'tribute'. (*Ibid. I*, 248; *Pāk*, 19; *Majīd*  
*II*, 375)  
 bādanjān/bātangān, 'brinjal'. (*Hedāye Ph*, 130)  
 lagad/lagat, 'leg'. ('Oshr, 43)  
 beyārid/beyārit, from āvardan 'to bring'. (*Sūr*,  
 142)  
 nešāndid/nešāndit, from nešāndan, 'to cause to sit'.  
 (*Asrār*, 279)  
 bedānid/bedānit, from dānestan, 'to know'. (*Bakhte-*  
*yār*, 27)

būdīd/būdīt, from būdan, 'to be'. (*Samak* III, 194)

$\delta/d$

2.21.  $\delta$  used in the Persian of this period is actually the second stage of *t*, which finally changed into *d* in the later period.  $\delta$  generally comes after a vowel or a voiced consonant in the few words still used in Persian :

godāstān, 'to pass'.  
 godāstān, 'to leave'.  
 padīroftan, 'to accept'.  
 kāyād, 'paper'.

But some of the old manuscripts do not have  $\delta$  at all, and even the few words having this letter in standard Persian have been written with *d*. This reminds us of the point noticed by Shams Qeis Rāzi that there is no  $\delta$  in the language of Ghazni, Balkh and Transoxiana. In all the three manuscripts of *Tafsīr-e Basā'er* by Fakhroddīn Mohammad b. Mahmūd b. Ahmad Neshāpūri (sixth century A.H.), *Tafsīr-e Qur'ān-e Pāk* and *Hedāyat al-Mot'allemīn*,  $\delta$  is always written as *d* :

**Tasir-e Qur'an-e Pak**

bargodašt (21)  
 godašt (37)  
 begodāstānd (33)  
 bepadiroft (37)  
 bepadirad (36)  
 padirofte-īm (12)

**Hedayat al-Mot'allemīn**

godāstan (275, 235)  
 godāre kardan (416)  
 godar kardan (234)  
 godār (89)  
 bargodarad (65)  
 godāre (89)  
 padirad (65)  
 paderoftan (607)  
 padirā (114)  
 padirande (113)  
 paderofte (106)

160

d/q

161 d/q  
avand/avang, 'vessel'. (*Zamakhshari I*, 263)

d/l

162 d/l  
dax/dax, 'bald'. (*Ibid.* I, 93, 94; *Asrār*, 180)

r/l

163 r/l  
beradar/bedādar, 'brother'. (*Oshr*, 5, 10, 109)  
berādarān/bedādarān. (*Pāk*, 12; *'Oshr*, 18)  
berādari/bedādari. (*'Oshr*, 47)  
berādaraš/bedādaraš. (*Ibid.*, 47)

r/δ

164 r/δ  
berādar/beðādar. (*Kālī M.* II, 74, 146)  
berādari/beðādari. (*Ibid.*, 121, 145)  
berādarān/beðādarān. (*Ibid.*, 148)

r/l

165 In old texts / is sometimes used in place of r as seen in comment

tar o mār tāl o māl. *Khāqāni*. (*Zamakhshari I*, 404)

gordān/soldān, re dawgān. *Ibid.* L 332  
dīne/dīvat, 'water'. *Gāzī* 1, 2, 34, 72. *Ibid.* 4,  
*Mādar*, 384. *Mādar* L 27  
fārs/fār, 'east'. *Gāzī* 22, 23, 24, 25. *Ibid.* VII,  
83

gūrāt/gūrāt, 'water'. *Gāzī* 1, 2, 34, 72. *Ibid.* 4,  
102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108. *Kālī M.* II, 73

gūrāt/gūrāt, 'water'. *Gāzī* 1, 2, 34, 72. *Ibid.* 4,  
102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108. *Kālī M.* II,  
73

gūrāt/gūrāt, 'water'. *Gāzī* 1, 2, 34, 72. *Ibid.* 4,  
102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108. *Kālī M.* II,

166 r/l  
gūrāt/gūrāt, 'water'. *Gāzī* 1, 2, 34, 72. *Ibid.* 4,  
102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108. *Kālī M.* II,

bezešk/beješk, 'physician'. (*Bal'ami Ph*, 72, 73, 231;  
*Hedāye Ph*, 10, 127; *Anbeyā*, 373)  
 geśnīz/geśnīj, 'coriander'. (*Zamakhshari I*, 89)

*z/ç*

2.28.

namāz/namāç, 'prayer'. (*Zamakhshari I*, 19)

2.29. Some words now written with *z* are found with *ð* in the manuscripts of this period :

joz/joð, 'except'. (*Abneye*, 17, 27, 275; *Meibodi*, 4,  
 304, 327, 397)  
 bāzbān/bāðvān, 'tax-officer'. (*Sāmi*, 160)

*z/zh*

2.30. Since *zā* is written in most cases with one dot above, it is difficult to ascertain whether the author or scribe means *z* or *zh*. It is only in a few manuscripts that *zh* is clearly written with three dots above :

zūbīn/zhūbīn, 'javelin'. (*Zamakhshari I*, 413)  
 mazget/mazhget, 'mosque'. (*Ibid. I*, 116)  
 pezešk/pezhešk, 'physician'. (*Sāmi*, 212, 213)  
 dūzax/dūzhax, 'hell'. (*Kohan*, 7, 48, 49; *Tabari*, 964,  
 993, 1039; *Pāk*, 15, 19, 20, 26)  
 gazāf/gazhāf, 'extravagant'. (*Tabari*, 1029)  
 kārzār/kārzhār, 'battle'. (*Ibid.*, 583, 590)  
 gavazn/gavazhn, 'stag'. (*Masāder I*, 137)  
 jouz/gouzh, 'nut'. (*Ibid. I*, 344, 354)  
 zangār/zhangār, 'rust'. (*Zamakhshari I*, 357)  
 zeštjadi/zheštjadi, 'evil'. (*Meibodi III*, 159, 220)

*z/y*

2.31.

āmīz/āmīy, 'mixture'. (*Meibodi I*, 133; II, 347, 520,  
 521)

*zh/j*

2.32.

zharf/jarf, 'deep'. (*Sūr*, 43)

*zh/z*

2.33. The following examples have been taken only from the manuscripts where *zh* and *z* are clearly written with three and one dot respectively :

*d/g*

2.22.

āvand/āvang, 'vessel'. (*Zamakhshari I*, 263)*d/l*

2.23

dūx/lūx, 'bald'. (*Ibid. I*, 93, 94; *Asrār*, 180)*r/d*

2.24.

berādar/bedādar, 'brother'. ('*Oshr*, 5, 10, 109)  
 berādarān/bedādarān. (*Pāk*, 12; '*Oshr*, 18)  
 berādari/bedādari. ('*Oshr*, 47)  
 berādaraš/bedādaraš. (*Ibid.*, 47)

*r/ð*

2.25.

berādar/beðāaðar. (*Kalile M*, 31, 74, 146)  
 berādari/beðāðari., (*Ibid.*, 121, 149)  
 berādarān/beðāðarān. (*Ibid.*, 148)

*r/l*

2.26. In old texts *l* is sometimes used in place of *r* as seen in current Persian;

tār o mār/tāl o māl, 'topsy-turvy'. (*Zamakhshari I*, 404)  
 sorfīdan/solfīdan, 'to cough'. (*Ibid. I*, 332)  
 dīvār/dīvāl, 'wall'. (*Pāk. I*, 2, 34, 71; '*Oshr*, 4; *Sīstān*, 384; *Majīd I*, 676)  
 barg/balg, 'leaf'. (*Tabari*, 53; 1484; *Meibodi VII*, 92)  
 sūrāx/sūlāx, 'hole'. ('*Oshr*, 19; *Bal'ami Ph*, 240; *Tabari*, 92, 196, 502, 565, 954; *Hedāye Ph*, 73; *Sūr*, 120, 129, 130; *Sāmi*, 294, etc.)  
 sard seir/sard seiil, 'summer habitation'. (*Majīd II*, 639)  
 garm seir/garm seiil, 'winter habitation'. (*Ibid.*)

*z/j*

2.27. Some words having *z* in standard Persian are written with *j* in old texts, which seem to be nearer to its original form :

bezešk/beješk, 'physician'. (*Bal'ami Ph*, 72, 73, 231;  
*Hedāye Ph*, 10, 127; *Anbeyā*, 373)  
 gešnīz/gešnīj, 'coriander'. (*Zamakhshari I*, 89)

*z/ç*

2.28.

namāz/namāç, 'prayer'. (*Zamakhshari I*, 19)

2.29. Some words now written with *z* are found with *ð* in the manuscripts of this period :

joz/joð, 'except'. (*Abneye*, 17, 27, 275; *Meibodi*, 4,  
 304, 327, 397)  
 bāzbān/bāðvān, 'tax-officer'. (*Sāmi*, 160)

*z/zh*

2.30. Since *zā* is written in most cases with one dot above, it is difficult to ascertain whether the author or scribe means *z* or *zh*. It is only in a few manuscripts that *zh* is clearly written with three dots above :

zūbīn/zhūbīn, 'javelin'. (*Zamakhshari I*, 413)  
 mazget/mazhget, 'mosque'. (*Ibid. I*, 116)  
 pezešk/pezhesk, 'physician'. (*Sāmi*, 212, 213)  
 dūzax/dūzhax, 'hell'. (*Kohan*, 7, 48, 49; *Tabari*, 964,  
 993, 1039; *Pāk*, 15, 19, 20, 26)  
 gazāf/gazhāf, 'extravagant'. (*Tabari*, 1029)  
 kārzār/kārzhār, 'battle'. (*Ibid.*, 583, 590)  
 gavazn/gavazhn, 'stag'. (*Masāder I*, 137)  
 jouz/gouzh, 'nut'. (*Ibid. I*, 344, 354)  
 zangār/zhangār, 'rust'. (*Zamakhshari I*, 357)  
 zeštjadi/zheštjadi, 'evil'. (*Meibodi III*, 159, 220)

*z/γ*

2.31.

āmīz/āmīγ, 'mixture'. (*Meibodi I*, 133; II, 347, 520,  
 521)

*zh/j*

2.32.

zharf/jarf, 'deep'. (*Sūr*, 43)

*zh/z*

2.33. The following examples have been taken only from the manuscripts where *zh* and *z* are clearly written with three and one dot respectively :

āzhdan/āzdan, ‘to sew’. (*Meibodi* II, 699)  
 dezh/dez, ‘fortress’. (*Sāmi*, 476)  
 mozhe/moze, ‘eyelash’. (*Otbe*, 134)  
 nāyzhe/nāyze, ‘pipe’. (*Hedāye* P, 236, 298)

*zh/š*

2.34.

bāzhgūne/bāśgūne, ‘inverted’. (*Bal’ami* Ph, 229, 380; *Lesān*, 96; *Tarjomān*, 165, 166, 168; *Varage*, 12)  
 pezhūlide/peśūlide, ‘withered’. (*Meibodi* II, 668)

*s/j*

2.35. There is only one word where the final *s* is replaced by *j*:

rīvās/rīvāj, ‘sorrel’. (*Zamakhshari* I, 93; *Sāmi*, 508)

*s/ç*

2.36.

serīs/çerīs, ‘glue’. (*Zamakhshari* I, 288)

*s/ş*

2.37.

māsüre/māśüre, ‘weaver’s reed’. (*Zamakhshari* I, 288)  
 parastu/farāstu, ‘swallow’. (*Ibid.* I, 472)

*ş/j*

2.38. The following word contains *j* instead of the present *ş* but since both *j* and *ç* were usually written with one dot it is difficult to say which of the above two consonants is represented by this sign:

kāski/kājki, ‘o that’. (*Tabari*, 372, 1923)

*ş/ç*

2.39. *ç* and *ş* are sometimes interchanged with each other:

paxş/paxç, ‘dissemination’. (*Qābūs* P, 114, 115)  
 çamūşı/çamūçi, ‘vicious horse’. (*Bakhteyār*, 144)  
 çakād/şakāde, ‘top’. (*Zamakhshari* I, 208)  
 şatrang/çatrang, ‘chess’. (*Ibid.* I, 304, 305)  
 çanbar/şanbar, ‘circle’. (*Abneye* P, 110; *Ibid.* Ph, 89b, *Sāmi* Ph, 196, 200)

$\acute{s}/z$ 

2.40. Only one example has been found for the change of the present  $\acute{s}$  into  $z$  in old texts :

tīrīš/tīrīz, 'gore of shift'. (*Hojveiri*, 63)

 $\acute{s}/zh$ 

2.41.

śangole/zhangole, 'fringe of veil'. (*Masāder* I, 92, 145)

dośvāri/dožhvāri, 'difficulty'. (*Meibodi* I, 492, 741)

 $\acute{s}/s$ 

2.42.

śūše/sūse, 'ingot'. (*Hedāye* Ph, 108)

śepeś/sebeś, 'louse'. (*Abneye* P, 129, 139, 140, 141)

śalvār/servāl, 'trousers'. (*Zamakhshari* I, 360)

zereśk/zeresk, 'barberries'. (*Abneye* P, 9)

afśānd/afsānd, from afśāndan, 'to scatter', etc.  
('Oshr, 46)

beyafsān/beyafsān. (*Ibid.*, 41)

abriśom/avriśom, 'silk'. (*Zamakhshari* I, 289)

rešte/reste, 'thread'. (*Ibid.* I, 49)

 $\gamma/g$ 

2.43.

āγūš/āgūš, 'embrace'. ('Oshr, 207; *Sūr*, 327)

kazhāγand/kazhāgand, 'a kind of jerkin'. (*Zamakhshari* I, 422)

çoyondar/çogondar, 'beet-root'. (*Hedāye* Ph, 27, 130;  
*Abneye* P, 173)

 $f/b$ 

2.44.

fām/bām, 'form', etc. (*Masāder* I, 347, 372)

faś/baś, 'scattered'. (*Sāmi*, 275)

fondoq/bondoq, 'hazel-nut'. (*Abneye* Ph, 59a)

xafe/xabe, 'strangling'. (*Hedāye* Ph, 69, 123; *Meibodi* VI, 339)

nīlūfar/nīlūbar, 'water lily'. (*Abneye* P, 135)

nāf/nāb, 'navel'. (*Sāmi*, 308)

kanaf/kanab, 'hemp'. (*Zamakhshari* I, 78)

*f/p*

2.45.

- faśordan/paśordan, 'to squeeze'. (*Sīstān*, 383)  
 fenjān/pengān, 'cup'. (*Sāmi*, 253)  
 faś/paś, 'scattered'. (*Zamakhshari I*, 389)  
 firūz/pīrūz, 'victorious'. (*Bakhteyār*, 14)  
 firūze/pīrūze, 'turquoise'. (*Bal'ami P*, 170; *Zamakhshari I*, 52; *Meibodi II*, 227)  
 fil/pīl, 'elephant'. (*Bal'ami Ph*, 60, 64)  
 nilūfar/nīlūpar, 'water lily'. (*Abneye P*, 120)

*q/k*

2.46.

- qapān/kapān, 'steelyard'. (*Tabari*, 1173; *Lesān* 114; *Majīd I*, 331)  
 qand/kand, 'lump-sugar'. (*Zamakhshari I*, 335)  
 qūzak/kūzak, 'crooked'. (*Tabari*, 92)  
 jouq/jouk, 'troop'. (*Meibodi II*, 642; *III*, 376, 458; *IV*, 361)

*q/g*

2.47.

- xānaqāh/xānagāh, 'monastery'. (*Meibodi IX*, 154)

*k/j*

2.48.

- kūdak/kūdaj, 'child'. (*Zamakhshari I*, 150)  
 korboz/jorboz, 'cheat'. (*Sāmi*, 136)

*g/j*

2.49. In the old texts *j* is used in many words instead of the present *g* in the initial, medial or final syllable :

- gazīt/jazīt, 'annual tax'. (*Tabari*, 642, 652; *Meibodi IV*, 115, 226)  
 golāb/jolāb, 'rose water'. (*Abneye P*, 53)  
 gāvsīr/jāvśīr, 'gum of the opopanax-tree'. (*Abneye Ph*, 128b)  
 gardīzi/jardīzi, 'pertaining to Gardīz, a town'. (*Hojveiri*, 218)  
 gāvars/jāvars, 'millet'. (*Zamakhshari I*, 76; *Abneye P*, 74, 75)  
 golnār/jolnār, 'pomegranate flower'. (*Abneye P*, 131)  
 gouz/jouz, 'nut'. (*Sāmi*, 207, 208; *Abneye P*, 21;

*Zamakhshari* I, 23)

margān/marjān, 'coral'. (*Bal'ami* Ph, 99)

nārgīl/nārjil, 'coconut'. (*Hedāye* Ph, 134; *Abneye* P, 78; *Meibodi* V, 160)

dārābgerd/dārābjerd, 'name of a city'. (*Sistān* 79, 80)

pargār/farjār, 'compass'. (*Sāmi*, 41, 172)

zang/zanj, 'rust', etc. (*Hedāye* Ph, 123)

neirang/neiranj, 'talisman', etc. (*Pāk*, 38, 41; *Hayy*, 49; *Meibodi* I, 293, 302)

zangār/zanjār, 'rust'. (*Aghrāz*, 61)

It is, however, difficult to say that in the above examples *j* is a substitution for *g* because, as mentioned earlier, the early Arabic writers indicated the Persian *g* as *j*, probably on account of the fact that the Arabic *j* was pronounced like Persian *g*. Therefore, the above examples might have been simply an indicator of the method of transcription and not of substitution.

### *k/q*

#### 2.50.

kāśān/qāśān, 'name of a city'. (*Sistān*, 75)

kazh/qaz, 'coarse silk'. (*Sāmi*, 192; *Meibodi* I, 750)

tarakīdan/taraqīdan, 'to crack'. (*Majīd* I, 67; *Tabari*, 71)

. tarāk/tarāq, 'crack'. (*Qesas*, 299, 328)

kanab/qanab, 'hemp'. (*Abneye* P, 19)

korte/qorte, 'a kind of tunic'. (*Bakhteyār*, 32)

### *g/b*

#### 2.51

gostāx/bostāx, 'impudent'. (*Meibodi* IV, 168, 188, 221, 396)

gostāxi/bostāxi, 'impudence'. (*Hayy*, 11; *Meibodi* III, 346, 608)

gerevidagān/berevidagān, 'admirers'. (*Qesas*, 288, 129)

gerevidan/berevidan, 'to admire'. (*Ibid.*, 245, 293)

gonješk/bonješk, 'sparrow'. (*Tabari*, 495; *Sāmi*, 360, 366)

### *l/r*

2.52. In certain words, the consonant *r* is sometimes noticed in place of the present *l*:

šalvār/šarvār, ‘trousers’. (*Tabari*, 647)  
 jābolsā/jāborsā, ‘name of a city in the extreme west’.  
 (*Ibid.*, 27, 32, 33, etc.)

*m/n*

- 2.53. payāmbar/payānbar, ‘messenger’. (*Varaqe*, 122)  
 payambar/payanbar. (*Ibid.*, 119)  
 šekambe/šekanbe, ‘tripe’. (*Lesān*, 146; *Abneye P*, 223; *Ibid. Ph*, 18b)  
 hambar/hanbar, ‘match, like’. (*Varaqe*, 98)

*m/nb*

- 2.54. dom/donb, ‘tail’. (*Majīd I*, 226)  
 šekam/šekanb, ‘belly’. (*Ibid. I*, 127, 129, 152)

*m/nm*

- 2.55. dom/donm. (*Majīd I*, 374, 469)

*h/x*

- 2.56. haste/xaste, ‘fruit-stone’. (*Tabari*, 452; *Safar*, 120;  
*Zamakhshari I*, 106; *Majīd I*, 614)

*y/j*

- 2.57. yaśm/jaśm, ‘jasper’. (*Abneye P*, 83)

*y/d*

- 2.58. ādārbāyjān/ādārbādgān, ‘name of a province’. (*Sīstān*, 35; *Majīd I*, 281)  
 ādārbāyjān/ādārbādjān. (*Sīstān*, 75)  
 šēspeyāz/šeṣpedāz. (*Abneye P*, 158)

*y/δ*

- 2.59. pāyīz/pādīz, ‘autumn’. (*Tarjomān*, 227)  
 dośmanāygi/dośmanδāgi, ‘enmity’. (*Tabari*, 418, 422;  
*Kalīle M*, 127, 163)

### 3. Coalescence (*Edgham*)

*tt/t*

3.1.

- rāst-tar/rāstar, ‘truer’. (*Bal'ami Ph*, 333; *Pāk*, 61; *Majīd II*, 496)  
 dūst-tar/dūstar, ‘friendlier’. (*Bal'ami Ph*, 105, 125, 324; *Tabari*, 606, 696, 760; *Abol-Heitham*, 22)  
 saxt-tar/saxtar, ‘harder’. (*Bal'ami Ph*, 30, 36, 77, 250; *Tabari*, 309, 408, 422; *Lesān*, 34, 44; *Qesas*, 450; *Hojveiri*, 133, 137, 243)  
 dorost-tar/dorostar, ‘better’. (*Qesas*, 415; *Hojveiri*, 397; *Majīd II*, 496)  
 zešt-tar/zeštar, ‘uglier’. (*Majīd I*, 495)

*dt/t*

3.2.

- bad-tar/batar, ‘worse’. (*Bal'ami Ph*, 111, 117, 130; *Ibid. P*, 1074, 1080; *Tabari*, 1478, 1614; *Sūr*, 21; *Sāmi*, 64)  
 boland-tar/bolantar, ‘higher’. (*Hojveiri*, 77)

*çç/ç*

3.3.

- hīç-çīz/hīçīz, ‘anything’. (*Bal'ami Ph*, 437; *Hojveiri*, 23, 33, 64; *Sūr*, 21, 268, 346; *Majīd II*, 85, 93, 97, 201; *Meibodi II*, 15, 26, 201, 208)

*çj/j*

3.4.

- hīç-jā/hījā, ‘anywhere’. (*Yūsōf* 25, 26)

*rr/r*

3.5.

- har-rūz/harūz, ‘everyday’. (*Tabari*, 652, 766, 1510; *Sāmi*, 264, 316; *Majīd I*, 452; *II*, 286, 504)  
 pesar-rā/pesarā, ‘rā’ sign of direct object’. (*Bal'ami Ph*, 325)  
 yekdīgar-rā/yekdīgarā. (*Tabari*, 82, 763)  
 andar-rasad/andrasad. (*Ibid.*, 313)  
 abr-rā/abrā. (*Lesān*, 37)  
 badr-rā/badrā. (*Majīd I*, 16)

*zz/z*

3.6.

*az-zendān/azendān*, ‘from prison’. (*Bal'ami Ph*, 86, 291)

*kk/k*

3.7.

*halāk-konīd/halākonīd*, ‘destroy’. (*Tabari*, 857)  
*halāk-kardīm/halākardīm*. (*Majid I*, 98)  
*halāk-konīm/halākonīm*. (*Ibid. I*, 310)

*nn/n*

3.8.

*īsān-nīz/īsānīz*, ‘they also’. (*Bal'ami Ph*, 183; *Tabari*, 186, 192)  
*man-nīz/manīz*, ‘I also’. (*Tabari*, 397)

#### 4. Anagram (*Qalb*)

4.1.

*fatīle/palīte*, ‘wick’. (*Bal'ami Ph*, 101, 440; *Abneye Ph*, 67a; *Abol-Heitham*, 4, 45)  
*māyz/mazy*, ‘brain’. (*Tabari*, 57, 494, 1152; *Meibodi I*, 472; *III*, 427)  
*çaşme/jamše*, ‘spring’. (*Tabari*, 479)  
*çaşm/çamş*, ‘eye’. (*Tarjomān*, 217, 233, 239)  
*şalıyam/şamlayı*, ‘turnip’. (*Hedāye Ph*, 130, 409)  
*pahnā/panhā*, ‘breadth’. (*Lesān*, 66)  
*çasbande/çafsande*, ‘sticky’. (*Ibid.*, 93)  
*çasbide/çafsīde/çapsīde*, ‘stuck’. (*Zamakhshari I*, 123, 448)  
*hargez/hagrez*, ‘ever’. (*Tarjomān*, 188)  
*karafs/karasb*, ‘parsley’. (*Sāmi*, 503)  
*çasbīdan/jafsīdan*, ‘to stick’. (*Majid I*, 545)  
*halqe/haqle*, ‘circle’. (*Bal'ami Ph*, 375)

#### 5. Omission (*Haṣf*)

*a/zero*

5.1. All the Arabic ‘*konye*’ starting with *Abū* were shortened to *Bū* in this period, their hanize being omitted. There are so many examples in this respect that we suffice with giving the names of a few early texts in which such *konyes* have occurred repeatedly :

*Bal'ami, Tabari, Pāk, Meibodi, Sistān, Hojveiri, Abol-Heitham, Abneye, Qābūs, Qesas, Zamakhshari, Majīd*, etc.

Some of the *konyes* mentioned in these sources without the initial *a* are given below :

Bū Tāleb  
 Bū Sāleh  
 Bū Horeire (Bā Horeire)  
 Bū Bakr (Bā Bakr)  
 Bū Lu'lū  
 Bū Barda'e  
 Bū 'Āsem  
 Bū al-Mo'ayyad  
 Bū al-Faraj  
 Bū al-Qasam  
 Bū Lahab  
 Bū al-'Abbās  
 Bū al-Hakam  
 Bū Sofyān  
 Bū Rāfīc  
 Bū 'Obeide  
 Bū Ayyūb  
 Bū Hātem  
 Bū Meīsare  
 Bū Šāmāme  
 Bū Salame  
 Bū 'Othmān  
 Bū Jāber  
 Bū 'Ali  
 Bū al-Fazl

5.2. The initial *a* is dropped in other words also in the Persian of this period :

azān/zān, 'from that'. (*Bal'ami*, 898; *Tabari*, 342; *Sistān*, 6, 36, 90, 95)  
 agar/gar, 'if'. (*Bal'ami* P, 328; *Tabari* 308, 311, 549, 634; *Abol-Heitham*, 140)  
 azū/zū, 'from him'. (*Sistān*, 39, 52, 66, 114; *Meibodi* II, 13)  
 azīšān/zīšān, 'from them'. (*Sistān*, 52; *Anbeyā*, 251)  
 azīn/zīn, 'from this'. (*Sistān*, 387)  
 anār/nār, 'pomegranate.' (*Zamakhshari* I, 338, 343)  
 əmīr/mīr, 'chief'. (*Bal'ami* Ph, 300)

5.3. Some consonants occurring in the medial or final syllable are also omitted :

- kabūtar/kūtar, kavtar, 'pigeon'. (*Meibodi* VII, 131)  
 mādar/mār, 'mother'. (*Pāk*, 23)  
 pādzahr/pāzahr, 'bezoar-stone.' (*Zamahashari* I, 459; *Anbeyā*, 162; *Meibodi* VI, 294)  
 bovad ke/boke 'may be that.' (*Meibodi* IV, 268)  
 namak-sūd/namak-sū, 'salted.' (*Abneye Ph*, 21b; *Ibid.*, P, 224)  
 amrūd/amrū, 'guava'. (*Abneye P*, 198)  
 kālbod/kālab, 'body'. (*Zamakhshari* I, 283)  
 harzamān/hazmān, 'every time.' (*Tabari*, 2034; *Tarjomān*, 205; *Varage*, 31)  
 mordār-sang/mordāsang, 'lead dross.' (*Abneye P*, 5, 60; *Zamakhshari* I, 50)  
 serkebā/sekbā, 'a dish made of meat, flour and vinegar.' (*Zamakhshari* I, 343)  
 peyām/payām, 'message.' (*Bal'ami P*, 386)  
 esparāyam/esparam, 'an odoriferous herb.' (*Abneye Ph*, 91a)  
 tārīk/tāri, 'dark'. (*Abneye Ph*, 67a)  
 gosīl/gosi, 'departure'. (*Tabari*, 1065)

5.4. The nasal dental *n* is generally omitted from the middle and end of a word :

- negūnsār/negūsār, 'inverted.' (*Bal'ami Ph*, 333; *Tabari*, 890; *Pāk*, 46)  
 šabān-rūz/šabārūz, 'day and night.' (*Bal'ami P*, 201; *Tabari*, 958, 977; *Pāk*, 37)  
 javān-mard/javāmard, 'manly.' (*Tabari*, 940, 941; *Pāk*, 6, 7, 8; *Anbeyā*, 464; *Sūr*, 183)  
 gomān-mandi/gomāmandi, 'presumption.' (*Tabari*, 614)  
 zeyān-kār/zeyākār, 'harmful.' (*Majīd* I, 448)  
 šānzdah/šāzdah, 'sixteen.' (*Sāmi*, 373; *Meibodi* I, 487)  
 zamīn/zamī, 'earth.' (*Bal'ami Ph*, 84; *Hedāye Ph*, 9, 122)  
 āstīn/āsti, 'sleeve.' (*Bal'ami Ph*, 388)  
 meyāngīn/meyāngi, 'middle.' (*Tabari*, 42, 143; *Pāk*, 16)  
 sangīn/sangī, 'heavy.' (*Abneye Ph*, 34b)  
 ābestan/ābest, 'pregnant.' (*Zamakhshari* I, 388)  
 īsān/īsā, 'they.' (*Majīd* I, 408, 439)  
 çandān/çandā, 'so much.' (*Ibid.*, I, 98)

- azīšān/azīšā, 'from them.' (*Ibid.*, II, 485)  
 mārān/mārā, 'snakes.' (*Ibid.*, I, 50)  
 mofasserān/mofasserā, 'commentators'. (*Ibid.*, I, 115)  
 mosalmānān/mosalmānā, 'Muslims'. (*Ibid.*, II, 257)  
 çonān/çonā, 'so'. (*Ibid.*, II, 159, 416)  
 ābādān/ābādā, 'populated.' (*Ibid.*, II, 604)  
 īmān/īmā, 'faith'. (*Ibid.*, II, 438)

5.5. *Vāv-e mastūh* (*va*) is sometimes dropped from the middle of a word :

- āavarande/ārande, from āvardan, 'to bring'. (*Tabari*, 79)  
 āvarad/ārad, (*Abol-Heitham*, 18, 23, 90)  
 beyāvarad/beyārad. (*Hayy*, 21, 2<sup>3</sup>)  
 beyāvar/beyār. (*Sīstān*, 294)  
 āvarīd/ārīd. (*Meibodi* III, 55, 60)  
 nayāvaram/nayāram. (*Ibid.*, VII, 9, 17, 20)  
 āvarande/ārande. (*Ibid.*, IX, 15)

5.6. The *av* of certain words is also omitted in the *Kashf al-Asrār* of Meibodi :

- śavīd/śīd, from śodan, 'to be'. (*Meibodi* I, 123, 200  
 II, 413, 565; III, 2; IV, 50, 87; IX, 93)  
 naśvi/naśi. (*Ibid.*, II 355)  
 maśavīd/maśīd. (*Ibid.*, III, 377; 488, 489)  
 mī-śavand/mīśand. (*Ibid.*, III, 466)

5.7. The consonant *h* occurring in the middle of a word is sometimes omitted :

- gāhvāre/gāvāre, 'cradle'. (*Tabari*, 777)  
 çāsmhā/çāsmā, 'eyes'. (*Ibid.*, 711)  
 bazah-mand/bazmand, 'criminal.' (*Ibid.*, 418; *Sūr*, 108)  
 çahār/çār, 'four'. (*Abneye* P, 73, *Safar*, 48; *Zamakhshari* I, 369)  
 çehel/çel, 'forty'. (*Varaqe*, 88, 89; *Zamakhshari* I, 381)  
 kāhdān/kādān, 'hay-loft'. (*Zamakhshari* I, 129)  
 govāhān/govā-ān, 'witnesses'. (*Majīd* II, 514)  
 negāhbānān/negābānān, 'guards.' (*Ibid.*, I, 521)  
 andūhgīn/andūgīn, 'sad'. (*Ibid.*, I, 439)

5.8. The consonant *h* is also omitted from the end of a word :

- pādshāh/pādshā, 'king.' (*Bal'ami* P, 11; *Tabari*, 146,

874, 971; *Abol-Heitham*, 20; *Sīstām*, 45, 311, 315; *govāh/govā*, ‘witness’. (*Bal’ami* P, 186; *Tabari*, 563; *Pāk*, 85)  
*geyāh/geyā*, ‘plant’. (*Bal’ami* P, 481, 527, 554; *Abneye Ph*, 61b; *Tabī’īyāt*, 78)  
*gonāh/gonā*, ‘sin’. (*Varaqe*, 115)

5.9. When the plural suffix-*ān* is added to a word ending on *ā*, *y* is always inserted between the two in standard Persian, but in many early texts such plurals do not have *y* and the plural suffix is written after the singular :

*tarsāyān/tarsā-ān*, ‘christians.’ (*Tabari*, 10, 19, 65, 380, 422, 608, 943, 1054, 1348; *Majīd I*, 443, 444, 451, 469, 471, 560, 627, 692)  
*šekebāyān/šekebā-ān*, ‘the patient.’ (*Tabari*, 1037, 1522; *Sūr*, 199)  
*dānāyān/dānā-ān*, ‘wise men.’ (*Tabari*, 200, 231, 259, 339, 449, 1036)  
*tavānāyān/tavānā-ān*, ‘the powerful’. (*Ibid.*, 1916; *Elāhyīyā*, 97)  
*nābīnāyān/nābīnā-ān*, ‘the blinds’. (*Sūr*, 52; *Majīd I*, 369)  
*hamtāyān/hamtā-ān*, ‘counterparts.’ (*Tabari*, 1618)  
*pīsvāyān/pīsvā-ān*, ‘leaders’. (*Sūr*, 154)  
*pārsāyān/pārsā-ān*, ‘the pious.’ (*Majīd I*, 161, 395)

This *y* is dropped also from the plurals of Arabic singulars or of Broken Plurals, when they are suffixed with -*ān* :

*mobtalāyān/mobtalā-ān*, ‘the wretched’. (*Sūr*, 155)  
*asfeyā-ān*, ‘the pure’. (*Tabari*, 1485)  
‘Olamā-ān, ‘scholars’. (*Ibid.*, 1174)  
*ouleyā-ān*, ‘saints’. (*Ibid.*, 1485)

## VERB

### Verb Root and Stem

1. THE root of a word in old Iranian languages belongs to one of the three categories :

- (1) Weak
- (2) Medium
- (3) Strong

1.1. These three forms are differentiated from one another on the basis of vowel quantity or its omission :

<i>weak</i>	<i>medium</i>	<i>strong</i>
✓dr	✓dar	✓dār = <i>dāstan</i> (to keep).
✓kr	✓kar	✓kār = <i>kāstan</i> (to sow).

1.2. The presence of a nasal consonant (*m, n*) in a word indicates that its root is medium, but its omission denotes that it comes of a weak root :

✓gad, gand	=	<i>būyīdan</i>	(to smell)
✓bad, band	=	<i>bastan</i>	(to bind)
✓skad, skand	=	<i>śekastan</i>	(to break)
✓kad, kand	=	<i>kandan</i>	(to dig)

1.3. A weak root having *i* or *ī* is made medium by adding *a* to it and strong by adding *ā* to it :

✓i, ay	=	<i>raftan,</i>	(to go)
✓hiz, haiz	=	<i>xāstan</i>	(to get up)

$\checkmark bū$ ,	baw	=	<i>būdan</i>	(to be)
$\checkmark rūd$ ,	raud	=	<i>rūyīdan</i>	(to grow)

2. All the Persian verbs, excepting a few, have only one single root in different inflectional forms, from which the two Present and Past Stems are made by adding a thematic to them.

2.1. Among the Persian verbs (infinitive) having two different roots, one for the Past and the other for the Present, one is *dīdan* (to see). One of its roots is *dī* used in the stone inscriptions of Darius in Naqsh-e Rostam (near Shirāz).

Patikaram dīdiy (See this body.)

Another root of this verb used in the stone inscriptions of the same emperor at Bisotūn is *vaina* :

*Vaināhy* (You see.)  
*avaina* (He (she) was seeing.)

The former root supplies the Past Stem of this verb in the Middle and Dari Persian whereas the Present Stem is derived from the second root *vaina*. In the latter case the initial *v* has changed into *b* as usual.

2.2. *Āmadan* (to arrive) has also two different roots. The Infinitive, the Past and most of its Noun Derivatives come from the root  $\checkmark gam$ . The Persian word *gām* (step) and the Old Persian name of Hamadān, *Hagamatāna* (place of assembly), are derived from the above root. Later on, *ā* was prefixed to the root and *ga* was dropped, and this supplies the Past Stem of the verb *āmad*. In Middle Persian, its infinitive is seen also without the prefix *ā* as *madan*.

The other root of the verb which supplies the Present Stem is  $\checkmark i$ , *ay* meaning 'motion'. When it is prefixed with *parā* it means 'to go' but with the prefix *ā* it gives the meaning 'to come'.

2.3. *Būdan* also has two roots; one is  $\checkmark bay$  supplying the Past Stem and meaning 'to be'. The other root  $\checkmark h$ , *ah* supplies the Personal endings -am -ī, -ast, etc., in the Present verbs *hastam*, *hasti*, *hast* (I am, etc.).

### The Present Stem in Old Iranian

3. In Old Iranian the Present Stem is formed by one of the following methods :

3.1. The Present Stem is identical with the verb root, without adding the thematic or doubling the vowel. Personal endings are added direct to the root :

asti, ah = the root and Present Stem of *būdan* (to be).  
jan = the root and Present Stem of *zadan* (to strike).

3.2. The Present Stem is formed from the medium root by adding *a* to it :

$\sqrt{bar}$ , bara = *bordan* (to carry).

3.3. The Present Stem is formed from the weak root by adding *a* to it :

$\sqrt{iš}$  iša- = *jastan* (to jump).

3.4. The Present Stem is formed with the addition of *ya* to the weak or medium root :

$\sqrt{zā}$  zāya- = *zādan* (to give birth).

3.5. The Present Stem is formed from the weak and the strong root by adding *aya* to either of them :

$\sqrt{pat}$  pataya = *parīdan* (to fly).  
 $\sqrt{dār}$  dāraya = *dāštan* (to keep).

3.6. The Present Stem is made by doubling the verb root, called Doubled Present Stem :

dā dadā- = *dādan*, (to give).

\* 3.7. The Present Stem is formed by adding the infix *na/n* before the last consonant of the weak root :

$\sqrt{mərək}$  mərənq = *mīāndan*, (to cause to die).

3.8 The Present Stem is formed by adding 'nu/nau' to the weak root:

$\sqrt{kərə}$  kərənau. = *kardan/to do* (Avestan).  
 $\sqrt{kr}$  kanau = *kardan* (Old Persian).

3.9. The Present Stem is formed by adding *u/au* to the verb root :

$\sqrt{tan}$  tanu = *tanīdan* (to pull).

3.10. The Present Stem is formed by adding *nā/na/n* to the weak root :

ā +  $\sqrt{sri}$  āfrinā = *āfarīdan* (to create).

## The Present Stem in the Middle and Dari Persian

4. The Present Stem in the Middle and Dari Persian indicates that it is derived from its counterpart in Old Persian, but in a changed form. First, the thematic is dropped from it to make it identical with the verb root. Then the root also undergoes the usual phonemic changes.

4.1. The Present of *būdan* and the Personal endings are derived from the Present Stem in Old Persian, devoid of the thematic (vide 1, 3).

4.2. The Present Stem formed by adding the thematic *a* to the weak root in Old Persian again loses it in the Middle and Dari Persian and the verb root alone is used as the Present Stem:

$\checkmark$ kuša-                    *koš*      (to kill).

4.3. The Present Stem formed by adding *a* to the medium root loses its *a* in the Middle and Dari Persian, and the medium root alone serves as the Present Stem :

$\checkmark$ bū,	bav	<i>bavad</i> (to be).
$\checkmark$ šiyū,	šiyav	<i>šavad</i> (to become).

4.4. The Present Stem formed by adding *ya* to the weak and the medium roots in Old Persian retains its thematic in the Middle and Dari Persian :

$\checkmark$ za      zāya-                    *zāyad* (to give birth).

4.5. The Present Stem formed by adding *aya* to the weak and the strong root and ending generally on *u* retains *ay* in the Middle and Dari Persian :

<i>weak root</i>	<i>strong root</i>	<i>Old Persian</i>	<i>Middle Persian</i>	<i>Dari</i>
$\checkmark$ srū	$\checkmark$ srāv	srāvaya—	srāy—	<i>sarāyad</i> (sing)
$\checkmark$ stū	$\checkmark$ stāv	stāvaya—	stāy—	<i>setāyad</i> (praise)

4.6. The Present Stem formed by adding *nu/nau* or *n/na/nā* to the weak root or by adding the infix *n/na* before the last consonant of the weak root, retains its *n* in the Middle and Dari Persian :

<i>Old Persian</i>	<i>Middle Persian</i>	<i>Dari</i>
çināu—	çīn—	çīnad (pick)
afrīnā—	afrīn—	āfarīnād (create)
āhinja—	āhinj—	āhenjad (drink)

4.7. The Present Stem formed by doubling the verb root such as :

$\checkmark$ dā                    dadā—

changes the *d* of the second syllable with *h* in the Middle Persian (Zoroastrian) and Dari, and with *y* in the Middle Persian (Turfān.) :

<i>Old</i>	<i>Middle</i> (Turfān)	<i>Middle</i> (Zoroastrian)	<i>Dari</i>
dadā—	day—	dah—	<i>dahad</i> (give)

4.8. The Present Stem formed by adding *u/au* in Old Persian loses its thematic in the Middle and Dari Persian and the verb root is used as the Present Stem :

✓tan      *tanad* (*tanidān* 'to pull, to draw').

### The Past Stem

5.1. The verb stem does not change in the Present and Past in Old Persian. As stated earlier (Vol. I/232), in Old Persian, various kinds of Past-Preterite, Perfect, Pluperfect and Imperfect-were all expressed by a sort of Aorist. Another way to express a past event in Old Persian was by means of the Past Participle.

5.2. The Past Participle in Old Persian was generally formed by adding the suffix *-ta* to the weak root :

<i>Root</i>	<i>Past Participle</i>	<i>Dari Equivalent</i>
✓kr	krta—	<i>karde</i> (done)
✓mr	mrtā—	<i>morde</i> (dead)
✓ja	jata—	<i>zade</i> (struck)

5.3. In order to express a past event in Old Persian, the Past Participle in nominative neutral, singular case along with a noun or pronoun in the genitive case, was used which served as the subject of the verb :

ima      tya      manā      krtam=      This my done, i.e. This is what I did.

This usage has been quite common in Old Persian.

5.4. In the Middle Persian (Pahlavi, Pārsīk), the Past and the Present Stems are quite distinct from each other. The Past Stem is formed from the Past Participle ending on *ta*. The same has come down to Dari Persian.

5.5. The Past and the Present Stems differed from each other not only in the initial and medial phonemes that change in accordance with the rules of linguistic changes (as discussed in the preceding chapters), but also in the final phoneme which generally changes according to the phonemes following the stem. Thus, the final phoneme is found in two different forms.

5.6. The Past Stem of some verbs differs from the Present by having

an additional *ta*, which changes into *da* if preceded by a voiced consonant or a vowel :

<i>Root</i>	<i>Present</i>	<i>Past</i>
✓kan	kanam	kandam (dig)
✓x <sup>v</sup> r	xoram	xordam (eat)
✓x <sup>v</sup> an	xānam	xāndam (read)
✓spar	separam	sepordam (entrust)
✓bar	baram	bordam (carry)

But when *ta* is preceded by a voiceless consonant it retains itself :

✓kuś	kośam	koštam (kill)
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5.7. Some Past Stems have a long *i* before *ta*, but it also changes into *da* according to the above rule (5, 6.) :

✓karś	kaśam	kaśidam (draw)
✓baxś	baxśam	baxśidam (give)
✓dav	davam	davīdam (run)
✓vaz	vazam	vazīdam (blow)
✓dar	daram	darīdam (tear)
✓tan	tanam	tandīdam (pull)
✓vār	bāram	bārīdam (rain)

Such Past Stems, the examples of which can be multiplied, provided a model for coining simple verbs from a noun or adjective :

<i>Noun</i>	<i>Verb (Infinitive)</i>
jang	jangīdan (to fight)
anjām	anjāmīdan (to end)
āyāz	āyāzīdan (to begin)
<i>Adjective</i>	<i>Verb (Infinitive)</i>
xošk	xoškīdan (to dry)
dozd	dozdīdan (to steal)
xīs	xīsīdan (to moisten)

5.8. Where the Present Stem is formed by adding *aya* to the verb root in Old Persian and found in a way in the Middle and Dari Persian, the Past Stem is formed by adding *ta* or *da* to the root, which is in fact a sign of the Past Participle :

<i>Root</i>	<i>Present</i>	<i>Past</i>
✓stu, stāvaya	satāyam	satūdam (praise)
✓sru, srāvaya	sarāyam	sarūdam (sing)
a* + ✓ru, ārāvaya	ālāyam	ālūdam (pollute)

5.9. The final ç of the verb root changes in the Present Stem into *j* and subsequently into *z* but it changes into *x* in the Past Stem on account of the concluding *ta* :

<i>Root</i>	<i>Present</i>	<i>Past</i>
✓taç	tāzam	tāxtam (assault)
✓saç	sāzam	sāxtam (make)
ā + ✓muç	āmūzam	āmūxtam (learn)
*✓riç	rīzam	rīxtam (pour)
✓dūç	dūzam	dūxtam (sew)
✓suç	sūzam	sūxtam (burn)
ā + ✓miç	āmīzam	āmīxtam (mix)
a*✓ + ✓viç	āvīzam	āvīxtam (hang)
*✓tuç	tūzam	tūxtam (pay)
ava + ✓ruç	afrūzam	afrūxtam (light)

5.10. The verb root ending on *ar* remains the same in the Present Stem but changes into *ās* because of the following *ta* in accordance with the Law of dissimilation :

<i>Root</i>	<i>Present</i>	<i>Past</i>
✓dār—	dāram	dāstam (keep)
vi + ✓tar—	goðāram	goðāstam (leave)
ham + ✓bar—	anbāram	anbāstam (store)
vi + ✓mar—	gomāram	gomāstam (appoint)

But sometimes the *ar* is retained in both Stems :

✓spar—	separam	sepordam (entrust)
ā + ✓zar—	āzāram	āzordam (afflict)

5.11. If the final phoneme of the verb root is the voiceless bilabial *p*, it changes into the voiced bilabial *b* in the Present Stem in accordance with the initial vowel of the personal ending. But in the Past Stem *p* changes into the voiceless labio-dental consonant *f* in keeping with the law of dissimilation because the cluster of the two voiceless consonants (*pf*) is difficult to pronounce and no Dari word has such cluster :

<i>Root</i>	<i>Present</i>	<i>Past</i>
✓āp	yābam	yāftam (find)
✓tap	tābam	tāftam (shine)
*✓kup	kūbam	kūftam (beat)
ā + ✓xsup—	āšūbam	āšūftam (disturb)
ā + ✓rūp—	rūbam	rūftam (sweep)
fra + ✓rip—	farībam	farīftam (tempt)

The final *p* of the Present Stem sometimes changes into *v*:

*✓rap—*

*ravam*      *raftam* (go)

5.12. The final *h* of the verb root is retained in the Present Stem but it changes into the sibilant fricative *s* in the Past Stem:

*✓jah—*

*jaham*      *iastam* (jump)

*✓rah—*

*raham*      *rastam* (be free)

*✓kah—*

*kāham*      *kāstam* (decrease)

*✓x<sup>v</sup>ah—*

*x<sup>v</sup>āham*      *x<sup>v</sup>āstam* (wise)

5.13. A verb root ending on the consonant cluster *xš* drops its first consonant *x* in the Present Stem and the second consonant *š* in the Past Stem:

*fra+✓vaxš—*

*forūšam*

*forūxtam* (sell)

*✓duxš—*

*dūšam*

*dūxtam<sup>1</sup>* (to milk)

5.14. A number of Persian verbs have two Past Stems: one original and the other formed by adding *id* to the Present Stem, and both of them probably have parallel usage:

*angāšt*

*angārīd* (think)

*angīxt*

*angīzīd* (excite)

*bāxt*

*bāzīd* (lose)

*tāxt*

*tāzīd* (assault)

*tāft*

*tābīd* (shine)

*jast*

*jahīd* (jump)

*saxt*

*sanjīd* (weigh)

*negarīst*

*negarīd* (see)

The Iranian grammarians believed that all the verb forms are derived from the infinitive. So the infinitives formed from the Past Stem of the second category were called Secondary or Artificial Infinitive by them.

5.15. There are some Past Stems whose root is not exactly known. For instance, the addition of *s* before *t* in some Past Stems cannot be explained:

*Root*

*✓tav—*

*Past Stem*

*tavānest* (have ability)

*✓dan—*

*dānest* (know)

*✓xšāy—*

*šāyest* (deserve)

*✓man—*

*mānest* (resemble)

<sup>1</sup> This word is found in this form in some old Dari texts but in comparatively later works *dusidam*, the secondary infinitive is used.

Some scholars, for instance, Darmesteter (I, 210) believe that the above Past Stems might have been formed by the synthesis of their root with *vah-*, the root of *būdan*, because all of them indicate a state or condition :

- bāyestan*, 'to be necessary'.
- dānestan*, 'to be knowing'.
- śāyestan*, 'to be worthy'.
- mānestan*, 'to be alike'.
- tavānestan*, 'to be able'.
- zīstan*, 'to be living'.

But other scholars such as Salemann, for instance, (p. 96) are hesitant to accept the above theory.

## Noun Derivatives of the Verb

### (a) The Infinitive Suffix

6.1. The original parent language of the Indo-European peoples seems to have no infinitive. As a matter of principle, all the languages do not have a special form for the infinitive, and even in similar and neighbouring languages the form and structure of the infinitive do not agree with one another.

The absence of the infinitive form in the parent Indo-European language indicates a particular characteristic of this language, that it had no verbal form for conveying a general sense. Rather, it has only such morphological forms that indicate the syntactic position of a word.

In each Indo-European language the infinitive has been formed or coined independently. That is why its structure is different even in Old Indo-European languages. The only point of similarity is the infinitive suffix *-ai* in Old Greek which resembles the Vedic and Avestan infinitive suffix *-dhyāi*. Yet it cannot be said definitely that these modes are common to these languages.

The form made with the above suffixes in the Greek and the Vedic had two meanings or usages, one for the imperative and the other for the infinitive.

6.2. The Vedic which is the oldest Indian language in the Indo-Iranian family, has had an infinitive suffixes *-tu*. In the course of time, this suffix received predominance and has come down as *tum* in Sanskrit. The latter indicates a transitive infinitive in the accusative. For example, *jetum* from the root *vji* means 'to overpower, to uproot'. (The same root is found in *jan*—(Old Persian), *auzhdan* (Pahlavi) and *ouzhanīdan* (Dari Persian), and in the compound '*sīr-ouzhan*' 'one who overpowers a lion'). Other transitive infinitives are *krtum* from the root

$\checkmark kr$  (to do) and *grahitum* from the root  $\checkmark grah$  (to catch, to grip).

6.3. In Old Persian, the language of the Achaemenian inscriptions, the infinitive is always governed by a preceding verb which means *farmūdan* (say), *yārestan* (can), *sāyestan* (should), etc., in the accusative case, and as such it always ends on *tanaiy*. The latter is itself formed of two components, *tan*, the infinitive suffix and *-aiy*, a termination which indicates that the word is singular accusative.

6.4. The Avestan does not seem to have a direct link with the Iranian languages which are regarded as the parent of Dari Persian, yet as an old Iranian language it is related to Old Persian. Now, we see that the infinitive suffix in the Avestan is  $-θna$ , derived from the Indo Iranian—*tña*, which is equivalent to  $-tan$  in Old Persian.

6.5. In the Pahlavānīk (Parthian-Ashkāni Pahlavi) texts, the infinitive suffix is found in three forms,  $-tan$ ,  $-dan$  and  $-δan$ . All of them are derived from the Old Persian suffix *—tanaiy*. The suffix  $-dan$  is always preceded by the consonant *r* or *n* whereas  $-δan$  follows a vowel e.g.,

dydn = dīδan = dīdan 'to see'.

'mśtn = amaśtan = virān kardan 'to destroy'.

'mwrdn = amvardan = anbārdan 'to fill, to store'.

6.6. The Manichaen texts discovered in Turfan and written in the Pārsīk (Sasanian Pahlavi) also have both the infinitive suffixes *tan* and *dan*, e.g.,

ayāb nobīg niebīstan, 'to write the book'.

ayāb negār negārdan, 'to make a painting.'

ayāb xruh xāndan, 'to preach, to sermonize.'

The first infinitive contains the suffix *-tan*, and the last two *-dan*.

6.7. In the texts of Zoroastrian Pahlavi, the infinitive is always suffixed with *-tan*, derived from the Old Persian—*tanaiy*.

As we know most of the infinitives in Pahlavi texts are recorded as a compound *Hozyāresh*, the stem being Aramaic and the termination being Pahlavi. Such infinitives have always the suffix *-tan* without exception.

But almost all the verbs and infinitives have an original Pārsīk form also. Among such pure Pārsīk infinitives, some conclude with the suffix *-dan* while others both with *-dan* and *-tan*. They are :

۱۲۳۳ = *xāndan* or *xāntan* (to read).

۱۲۳۵ = *afgandan* (to throw).

۱۲۳۶ = *kandan* (to dig).

۱۲۳۷ = *māndan* (to remain).

6.8. The Sogdian, a Middle Iranian language but not included among

the parent languages of Dari Persian, has no infinitive ending on *-tan*. Of the various infinitive modes in the Sogdian one resembles Short Infinitive in Persian, following verbs like *x<sup>v</sup>āham*, *tavānam*, *bāyad*, *śāyad*, etc. For example,

*x<sup>v</sup>āham sāxt* (I will make).  
*tavānam raft* (I can go).  
*bāyad kāst* (should be cultivated).

There is another kind of Sogdian infinitive ending on—*āk* which may be taken equivalent to the Persian Verbal Noun ending on the same suffix, e.g.,

*xūrāk* (food).  
*pūšāk* (dress).

6.9. The Pāzand texts record the *Hozvāresh* words with Iranian pronunciation in the course of a Pahlavi text, or a Pahlavi text with the comparatively modern and familiar Avestan script. They were composed after the Pahlavi texts, and definitely during the post-Islamic period. The Pazand infinitives conclude with the suffixes *-dan* or *-tan* just like Modern Persian. Some of the Pāzand infinitives are given below :

و س د ن د ن د س =	=ospārdan =	sepordan (to entrust).
و س د ن د ن د س =	=avzudan =	afzūdan (to increase).
و س د ن د ن د س =	=anbāstan =	anbāstan (to supply).
و س د ن د ن د س =	=azārdan =	āzordan (to afflict).
و س د ن د ن د س =	=āgandan =	āgandan (to fill).

6.10. The above discussion refutes the theory that the Persian infinitive suffix is *n* which is added to the Preterite to form the infinitive. As against it, the infinitive suffix is *-tan* derived from the Old Persian *-tan* and used as *-tanaiy* in the accusative singular. The latter dropped its termination *aiy* in the course of time according to the rules of phonetic changes and the stem *-tan* was left alone.

6.11. Those who regard only *n* as the infinitive suffix, generally say that the third person singular of the Preterite is formed by dropping *n* from the infinitive. Thus, they see no difference between the final *t* of the Preterite, third person singular, and that of the Short Infinitive.

But their point is not valid. The *t* or *d* of the Preterite is a different termination originally used with the Past Participle and then with the Preterite.

Therefore, the Preterite in Modern Persian consists of three components :

(1) Verb root.

## (2) Termination of the Past Participle.

(3) Personal ending formed from the Present Stem of *bûdan* (to be).

Thus, the Past Stem is formed by the combination of the first two components.

For instance, the Verb *kardam* consists of

(1) *kar* (verb root)

(2) *d* (sometimes *t*)

(3) *-am* (from the Present Stem of *bûdan*).

6.12. The infinitive suffix *-tan*, during the course of its evolution from the Old to the Middle Persian (Pârsik-Pahlavânîk), has changed into *-dan* in some cases. But in order to explain the rule of change and its particular applications, a short introduction is required here.

6.13. One of the laws governing phonetic changes in the development of a language is the law of assimilation. According to this law, two phonemes occurring adjacent to each other or after a short interval, either acquire common characteristics or become identical.

6.14. In order to distinguish one phoneme from the other we have to see whether in pronouncing it, the vocal chords, located in the larynx, vibrate or they remain static.

Since all the vowels are pronounced with vibrating vocal chords, they are regarded as voiced phonemes. As for the consonants, some of them are voiced like *b,d,r,z,zh,g* and *v*. Others are voiceless like *p,t,s,š,k,f*, etc. Again, the consonants accompanied by the trembling of the vocal chords are called *soft* as they are pronounced slower than others whereas the voiceless consonants are called *hard*.

6.15. When two phonemes, one voiced and the other voiceless, occur in a word, adjacent to each other, the voiced phoneme, according to the law of assimilation, affects the voiceless phoneme and changes it into a voiced one. This process is known as *Sound Assimilation*.

For example, *p* coming after a voiced consonant or a vowel changes into *b*; *k* into *g*; *f* into *v*; *s* into *z*; *š* into *zh* and *t* into *d*.

6.16. Some grammarians say that there are eleven letters that come immediately before the infinitive suffix. The five authors of *Dastûre-e Zabân-e Fârsi*, for instance, write, "Be it known to you that any one of the eleven letters contained in 'zamîn-e xoš-e Fârs', (z-m-y-n-x-v-š-f-â-r-s) or 'şaraf-āmûzi-e soxan', (ş-r-f-a-m-v-z-y-s-x-n) should always precede the infinitive suffix...."

The author of *Nahj al-Adab* increases the number of these letters to thirteen adding *t* and *zh* to them, and illustrates the last two examples with *setadan* (to take) and *âzhadân* (to sew). He writes, "Of these thirteen four letters, *x*, *s*, *š*, and *f* always precede the infinitive suffix *-tan*".

Both the above statements are not free from a flaw as they do not take into consideration the short vowels not indicated in Persian script. As a matter of fact, out of the thirteen phonemes, the three consonants *z*, *m*, and *t* never come before the infinitive suffix. So far as *zadan*, *āmadan* and *setadan* are concerned, the phoneme preceding the infinitive suffix in all the three examples is *a*, an independent phoneme and not *z*, *m* or *t*.

Similar is the case of *āzhadan*. The author of *Borhān-e Qāte* records the word *āzhade* after the example of *āmade* (which shows that *zh* is followed by *a*).

Thus, four phonemes are reduced from the above thirteen. The above list, however, does not contain all the phonemes which precede the infinitive suffix. They are as follows :

consonants : *x*, *r*, *s*, *ś*, *f*, *n*.

vowels : *ā*, *a*, *o*, *ū*, *ī*.

Again the consonants are divided into two groups :

voiced consonants : *r*, *n*.

voiceless consonants : *x*, *s*, *ś*, *f*.

6.17. When *t*, the voiceless consonant of the infinitive suffix *-tan* follows any one of the five vowels or the voiced consonants *r* or *n*, it changes into the voiced *d* under the influence of preceding phoneme. (The latter, a voiced consonant, has the same articulation as *t*). Thus the following infinitives having the suffix *-dan* are derived from the *-tan* infinitives :

*īstādan* (to stand).

*farmūdan* (to say).

*rasīdan*, (to reach).

*śodan* (to become).

*āmadan* (to arrive).

*kardan* (to do).

*kandan* (to dig).

But the infinitives ending on *-tan* preceded by a voiceless consonant, are naturally not subjected to this change and retain their original suffix *-tan*, e.g.

*gofstan* (to say).

*koštan* (to kill).

*bastan* (to bind).

*āmūxtan* (to learn).

6.18. The change of *t* into *d* is not peculiar to the infinitive. Whenever *t* is flanked by two vowels in the middle of a word, it changes into *d* according to the general rules of phonemic change. A few examples are given below to explain the point vividly :

<i>Old Persian</i>	<i>Middle Persian</i>	<i>Modern Persian</i>
vāta—	vāt	bād (wind).
mātar—	māt-mātar	mādar (mother).
vaēti—	vaēt	bīd (willow)
rautah	raut	rūd (river).

6.19. Now remains the question : at what time the infinitive *t* changed into *d*. Since the *Hozvāresh* infinitives always conclude with *-tan* some scholars believe that this substitution took place in Modern Persian (i.e. the post-Islamic Dari Persian). Blochet has pointed out a few instances of non-Hozvāresh Pahlavi infinitives ending on *-dan* and considers it the result of Persian influence and later changes. But there are evidences to show that this change had already taken place or started during the pre-Islamic centuries. For instance, the Manichaean Pahlavi, as mentioned earlier, contains both the infinitive suffixes *tan* and *-dan*. Secondly, the name of the Sasanian emperor Qobād (490-531 A.D.) written with *t* in the Pahlavi script, has been recorded by his contemporary Greek historians, with *d* like *kováðns kaβáðns* and *kwáðns*. This leads us to believe that *t* following a vowel was pronounced as *d* or *ð* in the times of that Sasanian monarch.

6.20. The above discussion can be summarized in the following points :

1. *-tan*, the infinitive suffix in Persian, is derived from the Old Persian *-tanaiy*.
2. This part of the infinitive underwent changes according to the law of assimilation in some cases and its first consonant *t* changed into *d*.
3. The phonemes that precede the infinitive suffix in Dari Persian are five vowels (*ā, a, o, ī, ī*), two voiced consonants (*n, r*) and four voiceless consonants (*x, s, ſ, f*).
4. The original *t* is retained if it follows a voiceless consonant, but when it comes after a vowel or voiced consonant, it changes into *d*.

### (b) Derivatives of the Present Stem

7.1. Active Adjective (Sefat-e Fā'eli) is formed by prefixing a noun or adjective to the Present Stem. Such compound adjectives are found both in Pahlavi (Pārsik) and Dari Persian :

*Pārsīk :*

- aśv-kus* (a killer of the pious).  
*karap-x<sup>v</sup>ār* (a corpse-eater).  
*axtar-mār* (a star-counter, an astrologer).

Such compound adjectives are found in great number in Dari Persian also :

*With noun :*

- laškar-kaš* (a commander, invader).  
*došman-šekan* (a destroyer of the enemies).  
*xerad-jū* (a seeker of wisdom).  
*xorde-bīn* (acute, critical).  
*xodā-šenās* (God-knowing).  
*bazm-ārā* (adorning a banquet or feast).  
*gür-kan* (a grave-digger).

*With adjective :*

- pāk-kon* (a cleaner).  
*xoš-našīn* (sociable, friendly).  
*xoš-xān* (sweet singer).  
*tīz-bīn* (quick-sighted).  
*dīr-pāy* (durable).  
*saxt-gīr* (severe, harsh).  
*moškel-gošā* (solver of problems).

7.2. Active or Verbal Adjective is formed by suffixing *ā* to the Present Stem. In Pahlavi (*Pārsīk*) *-āk* instead of *ā*, is added to the Present Stem :

*Pahlavi :*

- |                |                                |
|----------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>konāk</i> = | <i>konande</i> (doer).         |
| <i>ravāk</i> = | <i>ravande</i> (goer, runner). |
| <i>dānāk</i> = | <i>dānā</i> (wise).            |

*Dari Persian :*

- dānā* (wise).  
*bīnā* (seeing, clear-sighted).  
*šenavā* (listener).  
*guyā* (speaker).  
*zībā* (comely, beautiful).  
*pūyā* (runner).  
*kūšā* (diligent), etc.

7.3. Active Adjective (Present Participle) is formed by suffixing *-ān* to the Present Stem. This suffix is derived from the Old Persian *-ana* and exists in Pārsīk also :

<i>kuxšāna</i> =	<i>kūsān</i> (endeavouring).
<i>davāna</i> =	<i>davān</i> , <i>davande</i> (running).

This method is quite common in Dari Persian for forming an adjective from the Present Stem :

<i>ravān</i> (going, running).
<i>davān</i> (running).
<i>kašān</i> (drawing, attracting, drawn, attracted).
<i>xarāmān</i> (walking gracefully).
<i>larzān</i> (trembling).
<i>ostān</i> (falling).
<i>xīzān</i> (rising).
<i>nālān</i> (lamenting).
<i>geryān</i> (weeping).

7.4. Active Adjectives (Noun of the Agent) is formed by adding *-ande* to the Present Stem. This suffix comes down from the Old Persian *-ant* to which *-aka* was added later on.

A few adjectives with the Old Persian suffix *-ant* are still used in Dari Persian, but they no longer carry the active signification and are used as simple adjective :

<i>xorsand</i> (happy).
<i>boland</i> (high).

Adjectives with the suffix *-ak* have been quite popular in Pahlavi (Pārsīk) :

<i>buvandak</i> (existing).
<i>zīvandak</i> (living).
<i>śāyandak</i> (deserving).
<i>zanadak</i> (striking), etc.

Dari Persian :

<i>gūyande</i> (speaker).
<i>śenavande</i> (listener).
<i>bīnande</i> (spectator).
<i>dārande</i> (kecper).
<i>āyande</i> (coming, ensuing).
<i>ravande</i> (goer, runner).

7.5. Verbal Noun : In Pahlavi (Pārsīk) the Verbal Noun is formed by suffixing *-išn* to the Present Stem :

- āmurzišn* (pardon).
- zanišn* (beating).
- ravišn* (going).
- dānišn* (knowledge).
- bīnišn* (sight).
- rāmišn* (repose).
- kunišn* (act).
- setāyišn* (praise).

An additional suffix *-ih* is sometimes added to the above words to convey the sense of the abstract noun :

- zanišnīh*
- ravišnīh*

In Dari Persian, the verbal noun is formed by suffixing *-eš* and occasionally *est* (probably under dialect influence) to the Present Stem.

- dāneš* (wisdom).
- bīneš* (vision).
- sāyeš* (friction).
- āmūzeš* (instruction).
- parvareš* (fostering, training).

The root of this suffix is not traceable in Old Iranian languages.

### (c) Derivatives of the Past Stem

7.6. The stem of the Passive Adjective (Past Participle) is itself derived from the verb, e.g.

- karta* = *kard*.
- śyuta* = *sod*.

In Pārsīk *-ak* is sometimes added to the above stem to form the Past Participle :

- rastag* (dead).
- zādag* (born).
- neśastag* (seated).

In Dari Persian the final *k* is dropped and the *a* preceding it, changes into *e* in the current pronunciation.

*gofte* (said).  
*rafte* (gone).  
*x<sup>v</sup>āste* (desired).  
*dāneste* (known).

The Past Participle, thus, generally ends on *-te* but, as stated under the infinitive suffix, if *t* is preceded by a vowel or voiced consonant, it changes into *d* :

*dide* (seen).  
*šenide* (listened).  
*āmade* (arrived).  
*sode* (been).

The *g* (*k*) of the Middle Persian suffix is, however, restored when the Past Participle receives a suffix such as the Plural *-ān* or the Abstract *ī*, because only the final and not the medial consonant is dropped.

*nešastagān* (the seated)  
*mordagān* (the dead)  
*xastagī* (weariness)  
*xendagī* (life)

### 7.7. *-tār* and *-dār* suffixed to the Past Stem from the following :

#### 1. Abstract Noun

*goftār* 'speech' (from *gofstan* 'to say').

#### 2. Passive Adjective

*gereftār*, (caught, overtaken from *gereftan* 'to catch').

#### 3. Active Adjective

*parastār*, (a worshipper, nurse).

The above suffix exists in Old Persian in the form of *-tar* :

*frama -tar* 'commander' (from *fra + √mā*, 'to command').  
*dauś -tar* 'friend' (from *√dus* 'to love').  
*ja -tar*, 'killer' (from *jan-* 'to kill').

*-tar* changes into *-tār* and *-dār* in Pahlavi (Pārsīk-Middle Persian) and Dari and we have a number of words formed by adding these suffixes to the Past Stem. The change of *t* into *d* is the same as applicable to the infinitive suffix and discussed above :

*raftār* (gait, behaviour).  
*x<sup>v</sup>āstār* (petitioner, asker).

- parastār* (worshipper, nurse).  
*gostār* (speech, talk).  
*gereftār* (caught, overtaken).  
*jostār* (research, investigation).  
*dīdār* (meeting)  
*dādār* (distributor of justice).  
*kerdār* (act, deed).  
*mordār* (carrion, dead).  
*nemūdar* (apparent, visible).

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## **VERB STRUCTURE**

In Dari Persian there are five kinds of the verb :

1. Simple
2. Prefixed
3. Compound
4. Verbal Phrase
5. Non-transitive

### **(i) Simple Verb**

A Simple Verb is a verb which is made from a single root and cannot be divided into more than one independent unit. Some of the Simple Verbs (Infinitive) are given below :

- āmadan* (to come).
- āmūxtan* (to learn).
- āmīxtan* (to mix).
- āvardan* (to bring).
- afrūxtan* (to kindle).
- afzūdán* (to increase).
- afsāndan* (to strew).
- andisidān* (to think).
- angāstān* (to suppose).
- anbāstān* (to fill, to store).
- ouzhadan* (to throw, to kill).
- pālūdan* (to purify).
- paðroftan* (to accept).
- parākandān* (to scatter).
- pardāxtan* (to pay).

*goθāštan* is made of vi + √ tar-  
*goθāštan* is made of vi + √ tar-  
*gozārdan* is made of vi + √ çar-  
*oubāštan* is made of ava + √ par-  
*ouzhadan* is made of ava + √ jan-

Thus, most of the Persian Simple Verbs are compound, but their synthesis has become so perfect in Dari that it is difficult to separate and analyse their components. In other words, their verbal prefixes have lost their entity in Dari Persian and they may be called "Dead Prefixes" because they are no longer used to form new compounds.

A list of the Simple Infinitives both colloquial and literary, current and obsolete, is given in the appendices I and II to this chapter. It will be noticed by the reader that the number of such infinitives does not reach 300. A few more verbs, 20 or 30, may be added to the list.<sup>1</sup>

Some works composed on the subject and based on the old lexicons put the number of the simple verbs in Persian at 2,000 or more. But they regard the variant pronunciations of a verb as an independent verb. For example, *alfaxtan*, *alſu'dan*, *alfäxtan* and *alfidan* (to gain) are different pronunciations of the same verb. Similarly, *espärdan*, *espordan* and *sepordan* (to entrust) are various forms of one verb. Occasionally we have two infinitives of the same verb, one formed from the Past Stem and the other from the Present Stem. These two infinitives have been recorded as two independent verbs in the above works. E.g.,

*alfaxtan/alfanjidän* (to gain).  
*āhextan/āhanjidän* (to unsheathe).  
*āmūxtan/āmūzidän* (to learn).  
*āmīxtan/āmizidän* (to mix).  
*afrāštan/afrāzidän* (to raise).

Similarly, they have recorded the transitive (causative) and intransitive forms of a verb as two independent verbs; for example :

*gandidan* (to rot).  
*gandāndan* (to cause to rot).  
  
*daridän* (to tear).  
*darāndan* (to cause to tear).  
  
*xābīdan* (to sleep).  
*xābāndan* (to cause to sleep).  
  
*çasbīdan* (to stick).  
*çasbāndan* (to cause to stick).

1. The number of such verbs in French is estimated at 4160.

1.3. The Artificial (Secondary) Infinitive (*masdar-ja'li*) formed from a noun or adjective, both Persian and Arabic, along with a ending, should also be taken as a simple verb :

*From Persian Stem :*

*çarbīdan* (to overcome, to prevail).  
*çarxīdan* (to rotate, to spin).  
*torṣīdan* (to get rancid).  
*langīdan* (to limp).  
*āyāzīdan* (to begin).  
*dozdīdan* (to steal).  
*ranjīdan* (to be sad, vexed or angry).  
*jūśīdan* (to boil).  
*gandīdan* (to rot).  
*γaltīdan*<sup>1</sup> (to roll).

*From Arabic Stem :*

*raqsīdan* (to dance).  
*yāratīdan* (to plunder, ravage).  
*fahmīdan* (to understand).  
*talabīdan* (to summon, to call).  
*bal'īdan* (to devour).  
*tāvāfīdan*<sup>2</sup> (to go round a holy place).  
*xoufidān*<sup>3</sup> (to fear).

1.4. Some simple intransitive verbs are made transitive (causative) by adding *-ān* or *-ānī-* to the Present Stem :

*gošāstan* (to pass).  
*gošarāndān* (to cause to pass).  
*gorīxtān* (to run away).  
*gorīzāndān* (to cause to run away).  
*gaštān* (to go round, to turn).  
*gardāndān* (to cause to go round).  
*gerīstān* (to weep).  
*geryāndān* (to cause to weep).  
*nešastān* (to sit).  
*nešāndān* (to cause to sit).

1. No Verbal Noun with š is formed from such Artificial Infinitives. Thus, we do not have in Persian words like *carxes*, *toršeš*, *langeš*; *āyazeš*, *dozdeš*, *gandeš*, *Yalteš*, etc. Some Verbal Nouns from such infinitives seem to be of modern usages, e.g. *ranješ* (indignation), *carxeš* (revolving), *langeš* (limping), *anjameš* (ending).

2. Used by Sana'i Ghaznavi.

3. Hāfez Ābru, *Zail-e Jāme aj-Tavārikh*, p. 169.

*viordan* (to die).  
*mīrāndan* (to cause to die)  
*nemūdan* (to show).  
*nemāyāndan* (to cause to show).  
*gonjīdan* (to contain).  
*gonjāndan* (to cause to contain).  
*ramīdan* (to flee).  
*ramāndan* (to cause to flee).  
*larzīdan* (to shake).  
*larzāndan* (to cause to shake).  
*parīdan* (to fly).  
*parāndan* (to cause to fly).  
*tarsīdan* (to fear).  
*tarsāndan* (to cause to fear).

1.5. When a transitive verb is made causative by adding—*ān* or —*ānī* to the Present Stem it requires a prepositional phrase in addition to its object, e.g.

*nān rā xord* (He ate bread.)  
*nān rā be bağçe xorānd* (*xorānīd*) (He gave bread to the child (to eat.))

or it simply conveys a causative sense:

*nāme rā nevest* (He wrote the letter).  
*nāme rā nevisānd* (*nevisānīd*) (He caused (some one) to write the letter.)

## (ii) Prefixed Verb

2.1. As noticed earlier, a number of the simple verbs in Persian are composed of a prefix and the verb root. But probably from the early period of the Middle Persian, these verbs were no longer regarded compound by the speakers of the language. A few of these verbs were, no doubt, used without their prefix in some parts of Iran and in classical prose and poetry but they were not accepted as standard vocabulary by the lexicographers and literary masters, and such usage was designated as "Abbreviation" and "Omission." *Nesastan*, for instance, composed of *ni-* and —*had-* is a popular Persian verb but it has been used without *ni* by Sānā'i in the following verse :

bīhūde çē sīnīd, agar mard-e masāfid,  
xīzīd hamī gerd-e dar-e dūst tavāfīd<sup>1</sup>.

1. *Kolliyāt-e Sānā'i*, Tehran, 1341, p. 878.

(Do not sit idle if you are a man of action,  
Arise and circumambulate the beloved's home in  
love.)

2.2. As the Old-Persian prefixes became obsolete from the early period of the Middle Iranian languages like Pahlavānīk and Pārsīk, new prefixes were required to take their place. This vacuum was probably filled by prepositions and adverbs. The new prefixes were first used in the Middle Persian, from which they came down to Dari Persian in due course. The verbal prefixes in Dari Persian are as follows :

*be, bar, dar, andar, bāz,*  
*(vā), farā, farāz, forū, forūd.*

2.3. *be.* In the early period of Dari Persian *be* was used with both the Indicative and the Subjunctive Present, the Preterite and the Imperative. In current Persian it is used only with the Subjunctive Present and the Imperative. Since *be* gives a new meaning to the verb and distinguishes it from a simple verb it has been mentioned here as a Verb Prefix.

*Bebūdan*, generally equivalent to *śodan* (to become) :

mārā az vei del sard *bebūd* (*Qesas*, 146)

(Our heart became cold towards him.)

az pas hama-e javānī va kāmrānī çonin za'if  
*bebūdam*. (*ibid.* 168)

(After all that youthfulness and pleasure I became so weak )

'eiš bar man monayyaz gašte va zendagānī bar man  
talx *bebūde* (*ibid.* 173)

(My pleasure was disturbed and the life became so bitter for me.)

'Omar goft : yā rasūl-allāh, mā çand tanīm? rasūl  
goft : mā sī o noh tan būdīm be to çehal tan  
*bebūdim* (*ibid.* 242)

('Omar asked the Prophet, "How many persons are we ?")

The Prophet replied, "We were thirty nine persons, but with you we have become forty".)

*Berasīdān* conveys the meaning 'to exhaust', 'to end':

Va zoleikhā rā darān haft sāl harçē dāst hame  
*berasīd* (*ibid.* 168)

(Whatever Zoleikha had, was exhausted in those seven years.)

Zoleixā rā tāqat *berasid* (*ibid.* 157)

(The strength of Zoleikha exhausted.)

marā azīn band berahān ke marā tāqat *berasid*.

(*Samak D IV*, 154)

(Free me from this confinement as my strength has exhausted.)

ānge andar 'adad āyad *berasad* (*Hojveiri*, 79)

(Whatever may be counted will exhaust.)

*Bedāstan* 'to keep, to make one to stay or stop' :

marzbān sāh ūrā xel'at dād va benavāxt va piš-e xod *bedāst* (*Samak D IV*, 57)

(Marzbān Shah gave him a robe of honour, treated him kindly and kept him before himself.)

yarīb išān rā *bedāst* va xod dar sarāy raft (*ibid. IV*, 62)

(The stranger made them stay and himself went into the house.)

sepāh rā az dūr *bedāstand*, Qarā Xān piš āmad (*ibid. II*, 191)

(They stopped the force from a distance; then came forward Qara Khan.)

*Beporsīdan* 'to enquire about one's welfare', etc.

rūz-afzūn rā dīd va samak, har do rā *beporsīd* (*ibid. II*, 165)

(He saw Rūz-Afzūn and Samak and enquired about the welfare of both of them.)

*Beśodan* 'to pass, to end' :

çūn çand rūz *beśod* laśkaraś hasan ben qahtabe rā bar xod amīr kardand (*Zein*, 120)

(When a few days passed the army made Hasan ben Qahtabe as its commander.)

= 'to decline, fall, disappear', etc.

tā xorāsān be-haqīqat dar sar-e darāz-dastī-e vei *beśod* (*Beihaqi*, 412)

(Till Khorāsān declined, in fact, on account of his high-handedness.)

va cahār bār pādshāhī az īrān *beśod*

(*Moqaddame*, 10)

(Four empires fell in Iran.)

gar soxan gūyad āb-e soxan-e mā beravad,  
 besavad nūre-e setāre čo bar-āyad mahtāb  
 (Farrokhi, 16)  
 (If he speaks, our words will lose grace,  
 The starlight disappears when the moon rises.)  
 = 'to go or leave (for an unknown destination)':  
 va mardī mo'tamad rā ... nāmzad kard tā bā mo'-  
 tamad māmūn besod (Beihaqi, 141)  
 (And he nominated a trusted man .. and Māmūn  
 went with him.)  
 va az ānjā besod (Qosheirīye, 70)  
 (And he left the place.)  
 qeisar az pīš besod va zabbā rā basārat dād.  
 (Bal'ami, 821)  
 (Qeisar went forward and conveyed the good news  
 to Zabba.)

In case of a known destination, the above verb is used without *be*:

va bar qal'at raftand va pīš-e amīr mohammad  
 šodand (Beihaqi, 10)  
 (They went before Amir Mohammad inside the fort.)  
 va īn do nadīm nazdīk-e īn do sālār šodand (ibid.  
 226)  
 (And these two companions went to the two  
 generals.)  
 ya pīrzan bā ān hame ne'mat pīš-e souhar šod.  
 (Kīmeyā, 545)  
 (And the old woman, with all that wealth, went for  
 the husband.)  
 seyāh gīl va sām rā begereftand va dar ān xāne  
 šodand (Samak D I, 313)  
 (They caught the Black Gīl and Sām and entered the  
 house.)  
 zobeir be basre šod (Bal'ami, 163)  
 (Zobeir went to Basre.)

2.4. Most of the simple verbs, when prefixed, convey a special or independent meaning, but it is not always clear and definite, and varies in different contexts. Therefore, we cannot always attribute a particular meaning to a verb prefix.

*Āvardan*, for instance, when prefixed with *bar* conveys the following meanings, :

*Bar-āvardan* 'to raise, to elevate':  
 keikā'üs dar bābol benā-e boland be havā bar şode

*bar-āvārd* (*Mojmal*, 47.)

(Keikā'ūs raised a lofty building in Bābylon.)

= 'to execute, fulfil, do' :

ke man harče to kām o rāy āvari

*bar-ārām* naxāham ze kas yāvari (*Garshāsp*, 83)

(That I shall do all that you wish, and seek no assistance from anybody.)

= 'to bring up, train' :

mī gū'i ke farzandān rā jens-e xod *bar-āram* tā hamçün man savand (*Ma'āref*, 278)

(You say, "I will bring up my children in such a way that they become like myself.")

= 'to arrange, provide' :

yā xalvati *bar-āvar* yā borq'aī forū hel,

varna be şakl-e şirin şür az jahān bar-ārī (*Sā'd*, 592)

(Either arrange (to live) in isolation or put on a veil on your face, otherwise you will create a stir in the world like Shīrīn.)

= 'to carry up' :

pas be pāy xāst va 'Abdol-Mottaleb rā dast gereft  
va be taxt *bar-āvard* va beneşānd (*Sīstān*, 55)

(Then he got up and holding the hands of 'Abdol-Mottaleb carried him up to the throne and seated him there.)

= 'to take out' :

kelidī sīmīn az kīse *bar-āvard* va qofl-e sar-e sandūqçe bāz kard (*Barāmeke*, 8)

(He took out of the pocket a silver key and opened the lock of the casket with it.)

= 'to accomplish, achieve' :

harče mardān-e 'ālam *bar* natavānad *āvard* be zar  
*bar-āyad* (*Samak D II*, 209)

(What cannot be accomplished by the heroes of the world, is achieved by means of money.)

çün samak in kār az dast *bar-āvard* pahlavānān  
be xande oftādand (*ibid. II*, 162)

(When Samak accomplished this work, all the heroes burst into laughter).

Similarly, other prefixes also convey various meanings.

The verb prefix must not be confused with the inflectional prefix. The former gives a new meaning to the verb which does not change with the change of inflection, person or tense. The inflectional prefix, on the other hand, is used in some special tense or mode only. For example, in current Persian *mī* is used with the Present and the Imperfect, e.g.

*bar mī dāram*. (I am bearing up.)

*bar mī dāstam* (I was bearing up.)

But *be* is used only with the Subjunctive Present and not with the Indicative :

*mī ravam* (I am going.)

*beravam* (I may go, etc)

2.5. A number of Prefixed Verbs were used in special sense during the First Period of Dari Persian, called 'the Period of Genesis and Growth' in this book and spreading from the beginning of Persian literature to the early years of the 7th century A.H. (thirteenth century A.D.)

*Kardan*, for instance, conveys different meanings with different prefixes :

*Farāz kardan*, 'to stretch out, to extend', etc.

az pošt-e asb tāzeyāne *farāz kard* va šoqqa-e xeime  
bar-dāst (*Samak* D I, 13)

(He extended the whip from above the back of the horse and raised the tent-parting.)

γātūš dast *farāz kard* va zolf-e delrobāy begereft  
va bexod kaśid (*ibid.* III, 36)

(Ghātūsh extended his hand and holding the sweetheart by her tresses, drew her to himself).

dast *farāz kard* tā ūrā dar āyūš gīrad (*ibid.* III, 327)  
(He stretched his hands to embrace her.)

= 'to close' :

soxan natavānest goftan çāsm *farāz kard*, pas yek  
zamān būd çāsm bāz kard (*Bal'ami Ph.* 71)

(As he could not speak, he closed his eyes. Then after a while he opened the eyes.)

dahān bāz mī konad va *farāz mī konad* dar ārzū-e  
āb (*Ma'āref*, 231.)

(He opens and closes his mouth in the desire of water.)

*Bāz kardan*, 'to compensate, to return the reward' :

ham aknūn mokāfāt-e to *bāz konam* (*Samak* D II, 122)

(I will compensate you just now.)

benegar ke mokāfāt-e nīkī *bāz mī konad* (*ibid.* III, 211)

(See that virtue is rewarded.)

= 'to trim, to cut, to shave', in verbs like *rīš bāz kardan* and *nāxon bāz kardan* :

ūrā xod rīš-e kūçak būd ke be çand noubat *bāz karde būd*, änçe mānde būd *bāz kard* (*ibid.* D. IV, 48)

(He had a small beard which he had trimmed several times. Now he shaved whatever was remaining.)

pākīzagī bedān bovad ke müy bestorad va nāxon *bāz konad* va mü-e lab rāst konad (*Kīmeyā*, 151)

(Cleanliness is this that one should cut one's hair, trim the nails and shorten the moustaches.)

= 'to remove from office' :

va hame bar ān nīyat būdand ke 'othmān rā *bāz konand* va bejā-e vei kas-e digar rā beneşānand (*Bal'amī*, Ph. 126)

(All of them had the intention to remove 'Othman from office and seat someone else in his place.)

= 'to expell, turn out' :

valīd ben 'aqabe rā be tohmat-e mei xordan az kūfe *bāz karde būdand* (*ibid.* Ph. 105)

(They had expelled Valid ben 'Aqabe from Kūfe on the charge of drinking wine.)

= 'to open, to untie' :

hamyāni az meyān *bāz kard* va ānjā rehā kard va berast (*Nasīhat*, 94)

(He untied the money-belt from his waist, left it there and went away.)

*Dar kardan* 'to pour (into a pot or liquid)' :

dar hāl qadah-e şarāb *dar kard* va dārū dar askand va be alyār dād (*Samak* D I, 34)

(Immediately he poured wine into the bowl, mixed a drug in it and gave it to Alyār.)

dar hāl (qadah) *bāz xord* va be dast-e äteşak

*dād ke šarāb dar kon* (*ibid.* I, 204)

(Immediately he drank the cup and gave it to Ateshak to fill it.)

*dar sorāhī afgand va šarāb dar kard* (*ibid.* D. II, 247)

(He put it in the goblet and poured wine into it.)

*pas qadahī šarāb por kard va bīhūšāne dar kard va be dast-e doxtar dād* (*ibid.* D. I, 60)

(Then he filled a bowl with wine mixing a sedative and gave it to the girl.)

*Andar kardan* 'to put in, to wrap' :

*ūrā be meyān-e harīr andar kardand* (*Sīstān*, 62)

(They wrapped him in silk.)

*Farā kardan* 'to close (the eyes)' :

*va namāz-e šām begozārd va bexoft va çaşm farā kard* va jān taslim kard (*Qosheirīye*, 70)

(And he offered the evening prayer and retired to bed, and then he closed his eyes and resigned his soul to God.)

*va habib rā çün be malakūt bordand çaşm az ro'yate kol farā kard, fe'l nadīd va xalq nadīd* (*Hojveiri*, 478)

(And when the beloved was taken to the heavens he closed his eyes, not observing anything, creation or the creature.)

= 'to send before some one' :

*xodāvandī bar banda'i xaşm gereft va bande şafī-ān farā kard* (*Qosheirīye*, 301)

(A master became angry with his servant and the servant sent intercessors to him.)

= 'to stretch, to extend' :

*dast farā kon va çīzī bexor* (*Sīstān*, 114)

(Extend your hand and have something.)

= 'to appoint, to delegate' :

*va mī farmā'im tā dar majles-e qazā, hamāh allāh, kārkonañ... farā konad.* (*Al-Tavassol*, 70)

(And we order that you should appoint clerks ... for the court of justice.)

*Bar kardan* 'to raise' :

ba'd azīn ayyām hīç qoumī sar *bar nakard*  
(*Seyāsat* Kh. 156)

(After these days no people raised their head.)

= 'to light, to kindle' :

pāra'i ārd būd xamīr kard va āteš *bar kard* va  
īsān rā cīzī hamī sāxt. (*Qosheirīye*, 506)

(There was some flour, he kneaded it. Then he  
lighted the fire in order to prepare something for  
them.)

*Forū kardan* 'to spread' :

çūn šab dar āmad be bande goft : bestar *forū kon*  
(*ibid.* 703)

(When the night came, he asked the slave to spread  
the bed.)

= 'to sift, to strain' :

hezhde hazār 'ālam be yerbāl *forū kardand*, kofū'i  
be dast nayāmad (*Meibodi* I, 162)

(They sifted eighteen thousand worlds but could  
not find his equal.)

= 'to thrust, put in' :

dast be sāq-e müze *forū kard* va nāma'i bar āvard  
(*Beihagi*, 363)

(He put his hands in the stem of the stockings and  
took out a letter.)

mabādā lab-e to be goftār çāk  
soxan rā hamīnjā *forū kon* be xāk (*Shāh-Nāme*, 179)

(Lest your lips should open for speech,  
So now put down your words in dust.)

= 'to carry downward' :

dast *forū kard* va māhi-e zarrīn bar āvard  
(*Barāmeke*, 8)

(He carried his hand downward and took out a  
fish.)

The prefixed verbs lost their special sense by and by from the 7th  
century onward A.H. (thirteenth century A.D.) and gave their place to the  
compound verbs.

### (iii) Compound Verb

3.1. A compound verb is composed of two independent words. The first word, a noun or an adjective, does not have any inflectional change whereas the second component is a verb having different inflectional forms. This part may be called *hamkard*.<sup>\*</sup> Such verb is called *compound* because the whole of it conveys an independent new sense. But if each of its parts retains its original meaning their combination cannot be called a compound verb; they are rather free units of a sentence.

In the following couplet, for instance,

be yād-e çāsm-e to xod rā xarāb xāham sāxt.

benā-e 'ahd-e qadīm ostovār xāham kard (*Hāfez*)

(In the memory of thy eyes I will ruin myself and

\*The term *hamkard* is applied to that part of a compound verb which receives inflectional changes. Most of the Persian verbs are compound consisting of a noun or adjective, and a verb. Such verb structure is a characteristic of Persian language though a few similar cases may also be found in other languages. A compound verb is composed of two or more independent words and the whole of it conveys entirely a new sense, e.g. *ejrā kardan* (to execute), *andāze gereftan* (to measure), *jodā sāxtan* (to separate), etc. In all these compounds the first part, a noun or an adjective, has no inflectional changes whereas the second part, a verb, undergoes inflectional changes. Some grammarians call the second part an auxiliary verb, but it should be noticed that the same term is applied to the Present of *būdan* in the Perfect and the Preterite of the same in the Pluperfect, e.g.

*rafte am* (I have gone).

*rafte būdam* (I had gone).

The Perfect or the Pluperfect of a compound verb also contains this part. So the Perfect or the Pluperfect of a compound verb is constituted of three parts (a) the noun or adjective, (b) verb, (c) auxiliary verb e.g.

(a) *ejrā* (b) *karde* (c) *am*.

(a) *ejrā* (b) *karde* (c) *būdam*.

The second and third parts of the above verbs, therefore, cannot be designated with the same term. That is why we have coined the term *hamkard* for the second part of the above verbs. *Kard* in Persian literature (*Kashf al-Asrār*) is used in place of the term *fe'l*. So *hamkard* meaning 'that [which makes a compound verb along with another word]' is applied to that part of a compound verb which receives inflectional changes.

thus fortify the foundation of the old vow).

The compound *xarāb xāham sāxt* conveys one single meaning 'to destroy' or 'ruin', and does not conform with the meaning of the individual words, *xarāb* 'ruined' and *sāxtan* 'to build', which are contradictory to each other.

But *dīvar sāxtan* (to build a wall) is not a compound verb because both of the words retain their original meaning and their combination does not convey an entirely new sense. Thus, while *xarāb sāxtan* is a compound verb, *dīvar sāxtan* is a phrase consisting of two independent units.

The *hamkard* which, along with a noun or adjective, forms a compound verb loses its original meaning and conveys a new sense, or it is simply used as an inflectional constituent of the compound.

That the compound verb has been regarded as a single unit by the masters of Persian, is also borne out by its peculiar inflectional form in some tenses. For instance, during the First Period of Persian literature, the Preterite of a simple verb was prefixed with *be*, e.g.

*bekard* (did),    *benemūd* (showed).

Similarly, in later Persian, the Subjunctive Present always carries the initial *be*:

*bāyad beravam*    (I should go).  
*mī xāhad bebīmad*    (He wants to see).

But this *be* is missing in similar cases from the compound verb :

*joulān kard*    (galloped)  
*rūy nemūd*    (happened)  
*mīxāhand nosūb konand*    (They went to penetrate).  
*bāyad 'ajale konad*    (He should hurry up).

3.2. The simple verbs that generally form a compound are given below in alphabetical order :

āmadan  
āvardan  
bordan  
bastan  
peivastan  
x<sup>v</sup>āstan  
xordan  
dādan  
dāstan

*dīdan*  
*raftan*  
*zadan*  
*sāxtan*  
*śodan*  
*farmūdan*  
*kardan*  
*kaśidan*  
*gardīdan*  
*gardānīdan*  
*gereftan*  
*gaštan*  
*nemūdan*  
*nehādan*  
*yāftan*

Each of these verbs in combination with one part of speech or the other, forms a compound verb, both transitive and intransitive. It is, therefore, necessary to analyse the particular usage of each compound verb individually.

#### *Kardan.*

3.3. *Kardan* is the most popular verb to form a compound. It is combined both with a noun and adjective\* and simply represents the inflectional part of the compound verb. Sometimes it forms a combination with a verbal noun and then it is equivalent to a simple verb :

*šetāb kardan* =      *šetāftan* (to hurry).  
*ārāyeš kardan* =      *ārāštan* (to decorate).

Similarly, the compound of *kardan* with a Persian or Arabic noun has the same signification as the artificial (secondary) infinitive formed with that noun :

*jang kardan* =      *jangīdan* (to fight).  
*γārat kardan* =      *γāratīdan* (to plunder).  
*raqs kardan* =      *raqsīdan* (to dance).

The various combinations of *kardan* with other parts of speech are given below :

#### A-(i) Combined with a noun :

\*Words which are also used as adverb like *dur* (far), *nazdik* (near), *birun* (out), etc. are regarded as adjective here because no compound can be formed in combination with a pure adverb.

*Kardan* forms a compound verb with an Abstract or Verbal Noun, and Arabic infinitive regarded as Verbal Noun in Persian :

*zārī kardan* (to lament, to plaint) :

ye kānd ze dard-e 'esq zārī kardam  
 zārī dīdam ḡonānke xārī bīmar (*Farrokhi*, 129)  
 (I lamented a while in the agony of love but unfortunately I met with immense disgrace and humility.)

*ārāyeš kardan* (to decorate, to embellish) :

ço ārāyeš konad ūrā farāvān  
 be zarr o gouhar o dībāy-e alvān (*Vīs*, 42)  
 (When she is decorated profusely with gold, gems and silk of different colours.)

*taslīm kardan* (to surrender, submit) :

ro'b bar del-e īsān yāleb šod, ham dar ān sā'at  
 hesār *taslīm kardand* ('Eqd, 23)  
 (Their heart was struck with awe, and in that very moment they surrendered the fort.)

*āymardī kardan* (to assist) :

va mī bāyad ke marā pāymardī konī (*Seyāsat Kh.* 110)  
 (And you should help me.)

*śetāb kardan* (to rush, to make haste) :

agar 'oqāb su-è jang-e ū śetāb konad  
 'oqāb rā be belak beškanad sorīn o do bāl  
 (*Farrokhi*, 218)  
 (If an eagle rushes to his war, he will break its wings and back even with a little bird.)

*afsūs kardan* (to mock) :

ço būdī dar gohar mān bī-neyāzī  
 be ke kardi jahān afsūs o bāzī (*Vīs*, 449)  
 (If we had been independent and needless by nature whom would the world mock and make fun of.)

*āvāz kardan* (to call out, to summon) :

va folān yolām rā āvāz kon (*Seyāsat Kh.* 25)  
 (Call out such and such slave.)

(ii) Combined with an Arabic noun and infinitive :

*xabar kardan* 'to inform'. (*Seyāsat Kh.* 57)  
*ezhār kardan* 'to disclose, to express'. ('*bid.Kh.* 10)  
*taxlīt kardan*, 'to mix, to confound'. (*ibid.* 72)

*monāzare kardan*, 'to debate, to dispute'. (*ibid.* 150)

*taxallos kardan* 'to be free'. (*Farrokhi*, 36)

*tafāyot kardan* 'to differentiate, to be different.'  
(*Mojmal*, 11)

*esteqbāl kardan* 'to welcome'. (*Barāmeke*, 3)

*eltemās kardan* 'to entreat'. (*Kīmeyā*, 5)

Each of the above verbs is either intransitive or transitive according to the meaning of the first constituent.

#### B. Combined with an adjective :

*Kardan* forms a compound with all the common adjectives, Persian or Arabic :

##### *tohī kardan* (to empty) :

*tohī kardī az pīl hēndūstan rā,*

*ze bas tāxtān bordī ānjā ze īdar* (*Farrokhi*, 56)

(You made so many attacks on India that it has  
been emptied of its elephants.)

##### *āgāh kardan* (to inform) :

*va mālā'eke rā āgāh kard ke man īn bande rā az hame  
çīzī pāk kardam* (*Sīstān*, 51)

(And He informed the angels, "I have purified this  
man of every dirt".)

##### *ābād kardan* (to populate, to render delightful) :

*ya'qūb ān hame māl va selāh bar gereft va sepāh  
rā bedān ābād kard* (*Sīstān*, 226)

(Ya'qūb seized all the wealth and arms and made  
his army delightful with it.)

##### *ostovār kardan* (to fortify, make firm) :

*pesaraš rā farmūd tā dar-e hesār ostovār konad*  
(*Mojmal*, 367)

(He asked his son to fortify the gate of the fort.)

##### *sard kardan* (to displease) :

*çūn dar piś-e amīr al-mu'menīn benesāst ham noxos-*  
*tīn bār dar hāl ūrā sard kard* (*Seyāsat Kh.* 130)

(When he sat before the caliph he displeased him  
at once in the first instance.)

##### *mahjūr kardan* (to leave, give up) :

*agar ūrā māli bāṣad besetānad va be*

*xezānehā ārad va ūrā mahjūr konad* (*Seyāsat, Kh.* 15)  
(If he has got some wealth it should be seized and  
restored to the treasury, and he should be left  
alone.)

*'oryān kardan* (to deprive, to strip) :

be xāb mānad nūk-e senān-e ū gar xāb  
ço dar tan āyad tan rā ze jān konad 'oryān  
(*Farrokhi*, 276)

(The point of his spear resembles sleep because, just like sleep, when it enters the body it deprives it of the soul.)

All the compounds of *kardan* formed with an adjective are transitive.

### C. Combined with an adverbial adjective :

An adjective indicating time, place or state may be combined with *kardan* to make a compound verb :

*dūr kardan* (to remove) :

hājeb-e dargāh ūrā dūr konad (*Seyāsat Kh.* 88)  
(The court-chamberlain should remove him.)

*bīrūn kardan* (to take out) :

mayz-e sar-e šān az jehat-e ān bīrūn kardand (*Mojmal*, 40)  
(They took out their brain because....)

Such compounds are generally transitive.

### *Sāxtan*

3.4. *Sāxtan* makes its compound with an adjective only, and is equivalent to its counterpart made with *kardan*.

*parākande sāxtan* = *parāknade kardan* (to scatter, to disperse) :

mī xāhad ke molk az xāna-e to bebarad va ganjhā-e  
to *parākande sāzad* (*Seyāsat Kh.* 147)  
(He wants to take kingship out of your family and scatter away your treasures.)

*ravān sāxtan* = *ravān kardan* (to make flow) :

ke razm-e marā karda'ī ārzūy  
*ravān sāzam* az xūnat īdar be jūy (*Shāh-Nāme*, 111)  
(As you have desired a war with me, I shall now make your blood flow.)

*Sāxtan* also makes its compound with an abstract noun provided the latter is used in place of an adjective, e.g.

*badal sāxtan* (to alter, to change) :

balke ānrā be havā *sāz badal*  
 be havā'ī ke bovad 'eşq-e azal (*Haft*, 561)  
 (Rather change it with desire—a desire that may be  
 called eternal love.)

When the combination of *sāxtan* means 'to provide, prepare or form', etc. it will be taken as a phrase and not a compound verb, e.g.

*da'vat sāxtan* (to arrange for a feast) :

emşab mī bāyad ke *da'vatī sāzī* (*Asrār*, 90)  
 (Tonight you should arrange for a feast.)

*hile sāxtan* (to make a stratagem) :

çūn be aqsā-e jahān az molhedān yābī xabar  
*hile sāzī tā konī bar çüb-e xošk ūrā savār* (*Farrokhi*,  
 77)

(When you receive an information about heretics in  
 the far-off corners of the world, you make a  
 stratagem to hang them on the gallows.)

*vatan sāxtan* (to make a home, settle down) :

pas ū dar jazīra-e banū aylab qarār gereft va ānjā  
*vatan sāxt* (*Seyāsat* Kh. 168)  
 (So he settled in the Island of Banū Aghlab and  
 made it his home.)

*separ sāxtan* (to make a shield of something) :

xor ze tīr-e to bā xatar tāzad  
 zān ze mah gah gahī *separ sāzad* (*Hadiqe*, 536)  
 (Since the sun is afraid of your arrow it sometimes  
 makes a shield of the moon to protect itself.)

The compound of *sāxtan* is always transitive.

### *Nemūdan*

3.5. *Nemūdan* literally means 'to show, to demonstrate, to appear', etc. but when it makes a compound verb in combination with a noun or an adjective it loses its literal meaning and conveys an entirely different sense. In such compounds *nemūdan* is equivalent to *kardan* :

*zārī nemūdan* = *zārī kardan* (to lament, plaint) :

agar peimān çonīn xāhadt būdan  
 çe bāyad īn hame *zārī nemūdan* (*Vīs*, 158)  
 (Why all this lamentation if such a pledge is required  
 by you.)

*bandagī nemūdan* = *bandagī kardan* (to serve, to worship) :

çün meh az to nayāfarīde xodāy  
to beh az xalq *bandagiś nemāy* (*Hadiqe*, 550)  
(Since God created nothing greater than you, worship  
him more than others.)

*sa'y nemūdan* = *sa'y kardan* (to make an effort, to try) :

hīc kas dar parvardan-e vei *sa'y nanemāyad* (*Kalile*  
G, 61)  
(No one should try in bringing him up.)

*esteqbāl nemūdan* = *esteqbāl kardan* (to welcome, receive) :

çün rāyāt-e mansūre be mobārakī be hodūd-e  
kermān rasīd be qadam-e tā'at *esteqbāl nemūde*  
*būdand* ('Eqd, 42)  
(When the victorious standards reached Kermān they  
were received with obedience.)

*nehān nemūdan* = *nehān kardan* (to conceal) :

dorri ke zīr-e dāmane-e doulat *nehān nemūd*  
tarhīb-e jān-e jāns be ahl-e jahān nemūd (*ibid.* 87)  
(The gem that he had concealed under the garment  
of fortune, welcomed the people of the world  
from the core of its heart.)

*esrār nemūdan* = *esrār kardan* (to insist, to persist) :

bar xatā *esrār nanemāyad* (*Kalile*, 40)  
(One should not persist in errors.)

3,6. The compound of *nemūdan* was less used in comparison to that of *kardan* during the First Period of Dari Persian, i.e. from the beginning to the early years of the 7th century A.H. (thirteenth century A.D.) Afterwards, in order to avoid the repeated use of *kardan* the writers adopted *nemūdan* in its place. In contemporary Persian, *nemūdan* can always be substituted by *kardan*.

The compounds of *nemūdan* are either transitive or intransitive.

### *Dādan*

3,7. *Dādan* makes its compound verb with an abstract noun only :

*rezā dādan* (to give consent, to assent) :

va *rezā dehand bedānce* dar del dārad (*Seyāsat Kh.*  
10) (They should give assent to whatever he has in  
his mind.)

*govāhī dādan* (to bear witness, to attest) :

va zann-e bande *govāhī mī dād* ke ū gonāhkār ast  
(*ibid.* 21)

(My suspicion bore witness that he had committed a sin.)

*eqrār dādan* (to admit, to affirm) :

va mārā vājeb ast *eqrār dādan* be kebreyā'ī va  
'azamat-e ū (*Sajestāni*, 5)

(It is obligatory for us to admit His greatness and supremacy.)

*amān dādan* (to pardon, to declare amnesty) :

*amān dād* va *farmān dād* sepāh rā ke selāh az dast  
dūr konīd (*Sīstān*, 81)

(He declared amnesty and ordered the army to lay down its arms.)

*pand dādan* (to give advice, to counsel) :

va ūrā laxī *pand dehīd* (*Beihaqi*, 10)  
(And give him some advice.)

*sougand dādan* (to administer an oath) :

pas 'abdollāh meimūn mobārak rā *sougand dād*  
(*Seyāsat Kh.* 158)

(So 'Abdollah Meimūn administered the oath to Mobārak.)

*farmān dādan* (to give order, to command) :

va az xodāy dar xāham ke ātes̄ rā *farmān dehad tā*  
bar payāmbarī-e man *govāhī dehad* (*ibid.* 142)  
(I pray to God to order the fire to bear witness to my prophethood.)

*ya'de dādan* (to promise, to give word) :

goft yā rab *ya'de dādī* ke fer'oun rā halāk konī  
(*ibid.* 91)

(He said, "O God, you had promised to vanquish the Pharaoh.")

*nejāt dādan* (to free, to rescue) :

ke *nejátam dehī* bedin do sabab  
*zīn čonīn jam'e bixabar yārab* (*Hadīqeh*, 643)  
 (That, on account of these two reasons, O God, you  
 will rescue me from such an ignorant lot.)

*nazm dādan* (to put in order, to arrange) :

‘eqd-e mamālek-e kermān rā az sar *nazmī mī dehand*  
 (‘Eqd, 85)  
 (They are arranging afresh the affairs of the country  
 of Kermān.)

*dād dādan* (to administer justice) :

rasūl goft hokm kardī va *dād dādī lā jaram eiman*  
*va xoš nešaste'i* (*Asrār*, 272.)  
 (The Prophet said, "Since you have administered  
 justice in your judgment you are sitting safe and  
 happy.)

*ārāyeš dādan* (to adorn, to embellish) :

ba‘zī tarīq-e tarsī‘ va tasjī‘ mī seporand va maqāte-e  
*soxan rā bedān hīlat ārāyeš mī dehand.* (Al-  
*Tavassol*, 9)  
 (Some adopt the style of writing measured, rhymed  
 and cadenced sentences and thus adorn their  
 prose.)

*tāb dādan* (to twist, to twine) :

va har rūz ezerāb jāneb-e zeyādat mī šod va laškari  
*yadāyer-e yadr rā tāb mī dādand* (‘Eqd, 9)  
 (Restlessness was growing day by day and the army  
 was twisting the plaits of revolt—preparing for  
 revolt.)

*Dādan* does not form a compound with a concrete (common) noun unless the latter bears a figurative meaning.

Thus, *xel'at dādan* (to confer a robe of honour), *nān dādan* (to give bread), *ketāb dādan* (to give a book), etc. are not compound verbs, but the following combinations are compound verbs :

*dast dādan* 'to be attainable' :

va ‘elm har kas rā *dast nadehad* (*Asrār*, 9)  
 (Knowledge is not attained by every body.)

*tan dādan* 'to resign, to put up with' :

ze xākīm o ham xāk rā zāde'īm,  
be bī-çāragī *tan bedū dāde'īm* (*Shāh-Nāme*, 1785)  
(We are from dust and born out of it and with all  
helplessness we have resigned to it.)

The following verbs used in current Persian are also compound :

*del dādan* 'to pay full attention'.  
*pā dādan* 'to happen (something good)'.

A compound verb formed with *kardan* is sometimes intransitive while its counterpart with *dādan* is transitive, e.g.

*tayyīr kardan* (to vary, to change).  
*tayyīr dādan* (to change, to modify, to alter).  
*farmān kardan* (to command—intransitive).  
*farmān dādan* (to command—transitive).  
*'esvē kardan* (to coquet).  
*'esvē dādan* (to flirt).  
*enteqāl kardan* (to migrate).  
*enteqāl dādan* (to transfer).  
*jāy kardan* (to find a place).  
*jāy dādan* (to accommodate).  
*dād kardan* (to be just).  
*dād dādan* (to administer justice).

A compound of *kardan* may require a direct object while its counterpart with *dādan* also needs a prepositional phrase (indirect object) in addition to the direct object :

*nešān kardan* (to mark).  
*nešān dādan* (to point out).

Some compounds of *kardan* and *dādan* bear the same meaning, e.g.

*nedā kardan*, *nedā dādan* (to proclaim, to call).  
*tahvīl kardan*, *tahvīl dādan* (to deliver).

Some compounds formed with *kardan* and *dādan* bear quite different meanings, e.g.

*yād kardan* 'to remember'.  
*yād dādan* 'to teach, to train'.  
*rūy kardan* 'to take notice of, to turn to'.

*rūy dādan*, 'to happen'.

*Zadan*

3,8. *Zadan* forms a compound verb with a noun only provided it no longer retains its original meaning 'to strike, to hit' in the combination. The compound of *zadan* is generally intransitive :

*maθal zadan* (to cite a proverb) :

pas *maθal zad* ke rāst gofte and dānāyān ke ...  
(*Seyāsat Kh.* 17)

(Then he cited the proverb that the wisemen have  
rightly said ... )

*labbeik zadan* (to announce one's obedience, to be at the command  
of) :

beyār bāde ke *labbeik-e 'eṣq-e yār zadīm,*  
*sarāyparda-e del sū-e ān negār zadīm* (*Hasan*, 200)  
(Get me wine because I am at the command of love  
and the palace of my heart is dedicated to the  
beloved.)

*par zadan* (to fly) :

*sedre nešīnān sū-e ū par zanand*  
'arś-ravān nīz hamīn dar zanand (*Makhzan*, 6)  
(The angels who live by Sedre fly towards Him, and  
those who walk by the divine emperium knock  
at His door.)

*qor'e zadan* (to draw lots) :

bar hame śāhān ze pay-e īn jamāl,  
*qor'e zadam*, nām-e to āmad be fāl (*Makhzan*, 36)  
(I drew lots in the name of all the kings, and lo !  
your auspicious name was there.)

*rāy zadan* (to consult, to deliberate) :

anjoman sāxtand o *rāy zadand*  
sarkaśī rā be pošt-e pāy zadand (*Haft*, 85)  
(They assembled and consulted one another in order  
to crush the revolt.)

*navā zadan* (to sing) :

motreb-e bīnavā *navā nazanad*

*andarān majlesi ke nīst navā* (*Farrokhi*, 4, 12)  
 (The poor singer should not sing in an assembly that  
 is devoid of riches.)

*na're zadan* (to roar, to raise a cry) :

*delāvar ze goft-e pedar çün hezhabr*  
*yakī na're zad k-abr xūn śod dar abr* (*Garshāsb*, 47)  
 (On hearing his father, the hero roared like a lion  
 that even the heaven shuddered.)

*gām zadan* (to step, to walk) :

*nazad gām har çand bargāštaś*  
*peyāde śod az dast begdāštaś* (*ibid.* 51)  
 (In spite of goading, (the horse) did not step, so he  
 got down and let him go.)

*lāf zadan* (to boast) :

*çegüne dar saf-e mardān-e kār lāf zanand*  
*jamā'atī ke nadānand neize az nāçax* (*Al-Tavassol*, 299)  
 (How do the people who cannot differentiate be-  
 tween the ordinary and short javelines, boast  
 among the men of war ?)

Some compounds of *zadan* are transitive :

*āsīb zadan* (to hurt, to afflict) :

*be gah-e zabt-e māl o 'aqd-e hesīb*  
*sāherān rā zanad be 'elm āsīb* (*Hadīqe*, 610)  
 (Even the magicians are afflicted by his knowledge  
 of accounts and revenues.)

*āteś zadan* (to set on fire) :

*āteś dar iśān zadand ...* ('Eqd, 13)  
 (They set them on fire ...)

*baxye zadan* (to sew, to stitch) :

*xāter-e xayyāt-e 'aql garçe basī baxye zad*  
*hīç qabā'i nadūxt lāyeq-e bālā-e 'esq* (*Attār*, 341)  
 (The tailor of reason stitched so many dresses but  
 none of them was worthy for the lovely body  
 of love.)

Some compounds of *zadan* convey a figurative meaning :

*pahlū zadan* 'to compete' :

ānke pahlū hamī zanad bā man  
*pahlu'i rā nadānad az dāman* (*Hadīge*, 713)  
 (He who competes with me must not be knowing  
 the difference between the shirt and the sides.)

*sar zadan* 'to rise' :

śab-e tīre tā *sar zad* az kūh-e śīd  
 bebob kūh çün pošt-e pil-e safīd (*Shāh-Nāme*,  
 1337)  
 (Till the dark night rose from beyond the mountain  
 of the sunlight and the hill became like the back  
 of a white elephant.)  
 = 'to see, to visit', in current Persian :  
*raftam ke be dūstān sar bezanam.*  
 (I went to see the friends.)

### *Xordan*

3.9. *Xordan* is combined with an abstract noun to form an intransitive compound and conveys the meaning 'to accept, to bear', etc.

*andūh xordan* (to grieve, to feel sad) :

agar hīç kas nosrat-e mā nakonad, yā abā bakr  
*andūh maxor* (*Seyāsat Kh.* 119)  
 (Abū Bakr, do not grieve even if nobody helps us.)

*hasrat xordan* (to sigh for) :

basī andīša o fekrat bekardand  
 basī xūnāba o *hasrat bexordand* (*Elāhi*, 201)  
 (They had to worry a lot and sigh for very much)

*ta'assof xordan* (to regret, feel sad and sorry) :

mardomān hame xās o 'ām yamgīn gaştand va  
*ta'assof xordand* (*Sīstān*, 286)  
 (All the people, high and low, became sad and felt  
 sorry.)

*farīb xordan* (to be deceived, beguiled) :

kerā dar jahān hast hūš o xerad  
 kojā ū *farīb-e zamāne xorad* (*Shāh-Nāme*, 516)

(He who has reason and sense, is not easily beguiled by the world.)

*zenhār xordan* (to break the trust) :

ze šahrū bā hame sāhān gele kard  
ke bīdīn çūn śod o *zenhār* çūn *xord* (*Vīs*, 57)  
(He complained to all the kings about Shahru as to how he had deserted the faith and broken the trust.)

*sougand xordan* (to take an oath) :

va *sougand* *xord* ke ta'ām va śarāb naxoram (*Sīstān*, 45)  
(He took an oath that he would take no meals and wine.)

*yūte xordan* (to dive) :

māhī dar zīr-e āb śod va *yūte* *xord* (*Barāmeke*, 8)  
(The fish had a dive and went beneath the water.)

### *Bordan*

3,10 *Bordan* is combined only with an abstract noun to form a compound, on the condition that it no longer bears its literal meaning 'to carry'. Some compounds of *bordan* are equivalent to those of *kardan* :

*gomān bordan* = *gomān kardan* (to think, to imagine) :

varś bebū'i *gomān barī* ke gol-e sorx  
būy bedū dād o mošk o 'ambar bā bān (*Sīstān*, 317)  
(If you smell it, you will imagine that the smells of rose, musk, ambergris along with that of myrobalan have mixed with it.)

*hamle bordan* = *hamle kardan* (to attack, to invade) :

hān ei āzād mardān *hamle barīd* (*Beihāqi*, 191)  
(Hey, free men! attack.)

*ārzū bordan* = *ārzū kardan* (to wish, to desire) :

dar jahān-e sefāt-e mā kamāl-e mā rā bedānī va az  
ne'mathā-e man *ārzū barī* (*Ma'āref*, 21)  
(You should realize our perfection in the world of attributes and desire for our blessings.)

*sajde bordan* = *sajde kardan* (to fall prostrate) :

pīš raftand bā hazār herās  
*sajde bordand* o dāştand sepās (*Hast*, 85)  
 (They went forward in utter fear and then fell prostrate to offer their gratitude.)

*namāz bordan* = *namāz kardan* (to pay respect or reverence) :

bar zamin büse dād o *bord namāz*  
 gost kei šabryār-e bande-navāz (*ibid.* 114)  
 (He kissed the ground to pay his respect and then said, "O Lord of this slave ...")

Some compounds of *bordan* conveying the sense 'to accept', 'to forbear', etc. are equivalent to their counterparts with *kašidan* and *dīdan*.

*jour bordan* = *j. kašidan*, *j. dīdan* (to experience oppression, to suffer, to endure) :

gorbe az bahr-e loqme *jour barad*  
 babr o śir o palang xod bedarad (*Hadiqe*, 736)  
 (The cat experiences oppression for the sake of food and it attacks even the lion, tiger or leopard.)

*xajlat bordan* = *x. kašidan* (to be ashamed of) :

sepehr borde azin kāx o büstān *xajlat*  
 xodāygānā zin kāx o büstān bar xor (*Farrokhi*, 132)  
 (Let my lord enjoy in this palace and garden as even the heaven feels ashamed to see their richness.)

*ranj bordan* = *r. kašidan* (to suffer distress) :

har ke az čākarī o xedmat-e ū *ranj barad*  
 ranj nādīde jahān čākar o xedmatgar-e ūst (*Farrokhi*, 29)  
 (He who suffers distress in his service will enjoy the service of the whole world before long.)

### Āvardan

3,11. *Āvardan* is combined both with a noun and adjective to form a compound verb. The noun compound may be either transitive or intransitive :

*eslām āvardan* (to accept Islam as one's faith, to become a Muslim) :  
 agar yagāne mī šavī va *eslām mī āvari* (*Ma'āref*, 289)

(If you become unique and accept Islam as your faith... )

*panāh āvardan* (to take refuge or shelter) :

çün şodī fārey az madāyeh-e sāh,  
be suy-è madh-xāh ār panāh (*Hadiqe*, 602)  
(When you are free from the praises of the king,  
take refuge in God.)

*'esyān āvardan* (to rebel, to disobey) :

har ke bar tāft 'enān az to o 'esyān āvard  
az dar-e xāna-e ū doulat bar tāft 'enān (*Farrokhi*,  
281)

(He who rebels against you and goes astray, suddenly  
finds that fortune has turned its face away  
from him.)

*esrār āvardan* (to insist, to persist) :

va besyār būdand ke esrār āvardand va ān zanān-e  
asir va kūdakān ... be dameşq andar bordand  
(*Sīstān*, 100)

(There were many persons who insisted and took  
the prisoners, ladies and children, to Damascus.)

*goðāre āvardan* (to cause to pass) :

īšān rā be kaştī goðāre āvardand, (*Sīstān*, 379)  
(They caused them to pass in a boat.)

*hamle āvardan* (to attack, to charge) :

va be sūy-e to hamle mī ārand (*Ma'āref*, 55)  
(And they charge on you.)

*tāb āvardan* (to bear, to endure, to put up with) :

agarçe xāmoşī farmūd liken  
delam bā xāmoşī nāvard tābi ('Attār, 564)  
(Though I was ordered to keep quiet, my heart  
could not endure silence.)

The compound of *āvardan* with an adjective is always transitive :

*padid āvardan* (to make manifest, to bring into view or evidence) :

ürā andar vaqt daraxt-e nār va daraxt-e xormā  
*padid āvard* (*Sīstān*, 9)

(Immediately, he made manifest the trees of pomegranate and date.)

*hāsel āvardan* (to gain harvest) :

enbesāt enqebāz azū dar del

har zamān āvarađ hamī hāsel (*Hadiqe*, 695)

(The heart gains from him both cheerfulness and gloom every moment.)

*hāzer āvardan* (to cause to appear before, to bring to presence) :

'olamā va aśrāf-e hazrat rā {*hāzer āvardand* (*Kalile G*, 33)}

(The theologians and nobles were brought to the royal presence.)

*so'āl āvardan* (to put a question) :

ke dānad 'eşq rā hargez nehāyat

*so'ālī moşkel āvardī o monkār* (*Farrokhi*, 61)

(You have put a hard and embarrassing question as who knows the end of love.)

*farāham āvardan* (to arrange, to settle) :

be nekāhī ke ān xodā farmūd

kār-e mā rā *farāham āvar zūd* (*Hast*, 212)

(Settle our affair soon by means of marriage which is ordained by God.)

### *Raftan*

3,12. *Raftan* makes its compound with a noun and as such it may be taken equivalent to *śodan*. It sometimes means 'to happen.' The compound of *raftan* is always intransitive (passive) and its use is hardly noticed from the 8th century A.H. (fourteenth century A.D.) onward except in the works that follow the old style.

'etāb *raftan* (to be chided, to be censured) :

agar joz īn konand bā īśān 'etāb ravad (*Seyāsat Kh.*, 72)

(If they do something else they should be censured.)

*soxan raftan* (a talk or discussion to continue) :

meyān-e güdarz va tūs *soxan raft* (*Mojmal*, 47)

(A discussion went on between Güdarz and Tūs.)

*ested 'ā raftan* (to be prayed, asked) :

va hazz-e īn dūst va dīgar moxlesān ... *ested'ā mī ravad* (*Al-Tavassol*, 146.)

(And the share of mine and other sincere friends is prayed.)

*mozāyaqat raftan* (a difficulty to be) :

*este'fā x̄āst* va çūn 'ādat-e ū ma'lūm būd *mozāyaqat narast* ('Eqd, 88)

(He wanted to resign and since his habit was known there was no difficulty.)

*a'hd raftan* (a vow or treaty to be observed) :

ānçonān *raft a'hd-e* man ze noxost

bā ke, bā ānke a'hd-e ūst dorost (*Haft*, 83)

(From the beginning, a vow has been observed by me with the person who keeps his pledge.)

*masāf raftan* (a battle to go) :

be zarb-e sefāh va ta'n-e remāh *masāfhā-e* saxt mī raft ('Eqd, 41)

(A tough battle was going on with swords striking and spears piercing.)

### Āmadan

3,13. A compound of *āmadan* is equivalent to that of *śodan*. Combined with an adjective or past participle, it makes an intransitive or passive verb :

*košte āmadan* = *košte śodan* (to be killed) :

pas az do seh harb-e saxt esfandyār *košte āmad* (*Bal-ani P*, 668)

(After two or three fierce battles Esfandyār was killed.)

*barābar āmadan* = *barābar śodan* (to face, to come opposite) :

āngāh çonīn gūyad sāheb-e axbār ke çūn laškar-e goštāsp bā laškar-e farzāsp *barābar āmad* (*ibid.* 661)

(Then the reporter says that when the forces of Goshtāsp and Farzāsp faced each other.. )

*gofte āmadan=gofte šodan* (to be said, narrated) :

va qessa-e rostam ba'zī *gofte āmade ast* (*ibid.* 660)  
 (And the story of Rostam has been narrated partly.)

*nazdik āmadan=nazdik šodan* (to be imminent) :

gošādan-e hesār *nazdik āmad* (*ibid.* 510)  
 (The conquest of the fort became imminent.)

*padīd āmadan=āskār šodan* (to appear, to be manifest) :

pas çūn eblis īn soxan begoft hame ferīstagān rā  
*padīd āmad* az kāferī-e ū (*ibid.* 76)  
 (When Satan spoke this word, his infidelity became  
 manifest to all the angels.)

*darīde āmadan=darīde šodan* (to be torn) :

agar pīrāhan az pīš *darīde āmade* jorm yūsof rāst va  
 agar az pas *darīde āmade* jorm zoleikhā rāst  
 (*Qesas*, 158)  
 (If the shirt is torn from the front side, Yūsof is  
 guilty, but if it is torn from the back side  
 Zoleikha is at fault.)

### *Dāstan*

3,14. This verb makes its compound with a noun or adjective and as such conveys no longer its original meaning 'to possess'. In most of the cases, it is equivalent to *kardan* with the difference that a compound of *dāstan* bears the sense of continuation :

*mahrūm dāstan* (to keep one deprived or frustrated) :

lāf-e to *mahrūm mī dārad torā*  
*tark-e ān pendāst kon dar man darā* (*Mathanvi*, 494)  
 (Your boasting keeps you frustrated; give it up and  
 come into me.)

*extelāt dāstan* (to keep on mixing, meeting) :

va nīz rūzī çand bā 'olamā va odabā *extelāt dāst*  
 (*Maqāmāt*, 207)  
 (For some days he mixed with the scholars and  
 writers.)

In some compounds *dāstan* is equivalent to *angāstan* (to regard) and *śomordan* (to count) :

*xvār dāštan* (to hold in contempt, to despise) :

va īsān soxan-e ūrā *xvār dāste* (*Beihaqi*, 83)  
 (They held his words in despise.)

*sabok dāštan* (to take lightly) :

agar resalat-e ān pīr to *sabok mī dārī*, soxan-e ū be  
 nazd-e mā bas ‘azīz ast (*Asrār*, 100)  
 (You may take the message of the holy man lightly  
 but his words are very dear to us.)

*bozorg dāštan* (to show reverence) :

amīr abū ja‘far ūrā *bozorg dāst* va ejlāl va ekrām  
 kard (*Sīstān*, 314)  
 (Amīr Abū Ja‘far showed respect and reverence to  
 him.)

In some cases the compounds of *dāštan* and *kardan* seem to have no semantic difference :

*taslīm dāštan=taslīm kardan* (to surrender) :

va hesār rā *taslīm dāstānd* (*Sīstān*, 409)  
 (They surrendered the fort.)

*dārīy dāštan=dārīy kardan* (to withhold, to refuse) :

va to be kār-e dīvān az mā nān *dārīy mī dārī*  
 (*Seyāsat Kh.* 19)  
 (You as a civil officer refuse bread to us.)

*‘arze dāštan=‘arze kardan* (to report, to submit) :

har če to rā xabar bovard bāyad ke bar rāy mā ‘*arze dārī* (*Asrār*, 366)  
 (Whatever information you have, should submit to  
 us.)

Some compounds of *dāštan* with a verbal noun are equivalent to those of *būdan* with the corresponding active adjective present participle :

*vōqūf dāštan=vāqef būdan* (to be aware of, to know) :

va ū zabān-e moryān dānestī va bar fahāvī-e alhān-e  
 īsān *vōqūf dāstī* (*Eqd*, 65)  
 (And he knew the tongue of the birds and was aware

of the meaning of their chirping.)

*erādat dāstan* = *erādatmand būdan* (to be devoted, sincere) :

tō be man gar *erādatī dārī*

tā konam da'va-e parastārī (*Hast*, 212)

(If you are devoted to me that I may claim your devotion...)

A compound of *dāstan* with a (common) noun always bears the figurative meaning :

*pāy dāstan* (to resist) :

pāy nadāst bol-fath bā išān, be hazimat beraft  
(*Sistān*, 326)

(Bol-Fath could not resist them, and so he was defeated.)

*qašm dāstan* (to hope, to expect) :

ān degarhā rā nīz qašm mī dārad (*Ma'āref*, 111)  
(He is expecting the others also.)

qašm dāram ze xodāvand ke ū xāhad yāft

ān bozorgī ke hamī yāft be mardī sohrāb (*Farrokhi*, 17)

(I hope that my lord will receive the same greatness that Sohrāb attained by virtue of valour.)

*gūš dāstan* (to guard, to watch) :

šeix goft bīnamāzī bāyad tā jāma-e šomā rā gūš mī dārad (*Asrār*, 64)

(The Sheikh said, "There should be someone not praying to watch your clothes.)

### *Gereftan*

3.15. *Gereftan* is generally combined with an abstract noun to form a compound and is equivalent to the compound of *śodan* with the corresponding adjective :

*ons gereftan*

(to become familiar) :

*mānūs śodan*

tā morγān-e havā va dadān va dīvān hame be havvā  
*ons gereftand* (*Sistān*, 40)

(Till the birds, beasts and demons became familiar with Eve.)

*xašm gereftan*

(to become angry) :

*xašmgīn šodan*

ma'n rā ān andak āmad va bedān *xašm gereft* (*ibid.* 144)

(It was little for Ma'n and so he became angry with it.)

*ārām gereftan*

(to become quiet or pacified) :

*ārām šodan*

kār-e qasabe nezām gereft va mardomān *ārām geref-*  
*tand* (*ibid.* 160)

(The affairs of the town were put in order and the people became pacified.)

*xūy gereftan*

(to become accustomed) :

*xūgīr šodan*

va ḡonān *xūy gereft* ke ūrā be sad kas az xāne bīrūn  
namī šod kardan (*Seyāsat Kh.* 105)

(And he became so accustomed that he could not be turned out of the house even by a hundred persons.)

*nezām gereftan*

(to be organized, restored to order) :

*monazzam šodan*va laškar *nezām gereft* (*ibid.* 21)

(And the army became organized.)

*qūvvat gereftan*

(to become forceful) :

*qavī šodan*tā ān soxan madad va *qūvvat gīrad* (*Maqāmāt*, 105)

(So that his words may get support and force.)

*eltehāb gereftan*

(to blaze) :

*moltahēb šodan*

va nāyera-e *xašm-e mā eltehāb gīrad* (*Al-Tavassol*, 135)

(And the fire of our anger will blaze forth.)

*māye gereftan*

(to profit, to be benefited) :

*māyevar šodan*

far'ī nadehad 'omr kazū *māye nagīrad*  
aslı nakonad tīy ço pūlād nabāšad (*Hasan*, 259)  
(As the tree of life branches out, it receives benefit  
from each of them, but when the sword is not  
made of steel, it is hardly of any use.)

When *gereftan* is used with an infinitive it gives the meaning 'to begin',  
e.g.

*xāndan gereft* (He began to read.)

*setūdan gereft āngahī zāl rā*  
*xodāvand-e šamšīr o kūpāl rā* (*Shāh-Nāme*, 226)  
(Then he began to praise Zāl, the lord of the sword  
and mace.)

The compound of *gereftan* is always intransitive (passive) but its counterpart with *dādan* makes it transitive (causative) :

*yād gereftan* (to learn).

*yād dādan* (to make (one) learn, to teach).

*qūvvat gereftan* (to become strong).

*qūvvat dādan* (to make one strong).

*nezām gereftan* (to be restored to order).

*nezām dādan* (to restore to order).

*māye gereftan* (to profit by, to be benefited).

*māye dādan* (to benefit).

*sūrat gereftan* (to take place).

*sūrat dādan* (to do, to perform).

*anjām gereftan* (to be accomplished).

*anjām dādan* (to accomplish).

Combined with an adjective, *gereftan* means 'to take, to regard', etc.

*āsān gereftan* (to take easy).

*andak gereftan* (to take as little or small).

*saxt gereftan* (to take as hard, to be severe).

*doşvār gereftan* (to take as difficult).

### *Dīdan*

3,16. *Dīdan* always makes its compound with an abstract noun and generally gives the meaning 'to bear, to suffer' :

*ranj dīdan* (to bear distress, to be afflicted) :

vānke be šādī yekī qadah bexorad zūy  
*ranj nabīnad* azān farāz o na ahzān (*Sīstān*, 318)  
 (He who receives a cup of wine from him, suffers no further distress or grief.)

At times it means 'to find, to consider' :

*savāb dīdan* (to consider proper) :

bāyad ke ouleyā va hašam va fouj fouj laškar rā  
 gosīl konad çonānke *savāb bīnad* (*Beihaqi*, 8)  
 (If he considers proper, he should send the officers, retinue and battalions.)

*salāh dīdan* (to consider advisable or expedient) :

agar *salāh bīnī* marā dastūrī deh tā dar pīš-e vazīr  
 abī 'alī yahyā ben xāled barmakī šavam (*Barāmeke*, 11)

(If you consider advisable, allow me to go before the Minister Abū 'Ali Yahyā ben Khāled Barmaki.)

*vājeb dīdan* (to consider obligatory) :

va dar tajāreb-e motaqaddemān ta'ammol-e 'āqelānc  
*vājeb dīd* (*Kalile G*, 26).

(He considered it obligatory to think wisely about the experiences of his predecessors.)

Some compounds of *dīdan* are intransitive (passive) while their counterparts with *dādan* are transitive (active) :

*ranj dīdan* (to suffer, to be afflicted).

*ranj dādan* (to afflict, to torment).

*zajr dīdan* (to be tormented, persecuted).

*zajr dādan* (to torment, to persecute).

The same relation exists between the compounds of *dīdan* and *zadan* :

*sadme dīdan* (to be injured).

*sadme zadan* (to shock, to injure).

*latme dīdan* (to be injured or damaged).

*latme zadan* (to injure, to damage).

*āsib dīdan* (to be hurt).

*āsib zadan* (to hurt).

*Kaśīdan*

3.17. *Kaśīdan* is always combined with an abstract noun to form an intransitive verb and thus means 'to suffer from, to bear,' etc.

*reyāzat kaśīdan* (to undergo mortification) :

agar sad kas hamānā *reyāzat bekaśad* ke ū kaśīde ast  
haq ta'älā bediśān ān nadehad (*Asrār*, 132)  
(If a hundred people undergo the same mortification  
as he, God will not give them what He has given  
to him.)

*andūh kaśīdan* (to suffer from grief, sorrow) :

aknūn to šād mībāš va xorram zī tā mā *andūh mi-kaśim* (*Ibid.* 156)  
(So long as we suffer from grief, let you live a happy  
and joyful life.)

*ranj kaśīdan* (to toil, to suffer) :

*ranj-e* ān loqme *bekaśid* (*Ma'āref*, 116)  
(Toil for the sake of that food.)

A compound of *kaśīdan* with a concrete (common) noun sometimes bears a figurative meaning :

*sar kaśīdan* (to rise against, to rebel) :

rostam ān rā monker šod...va bedān sabab az pādshāh  
goštāsb *sar kaśid* (*Sīstān*, 340)  
(Rostam denied it...and, on that account, he rebelled  
against Goshtāsb.)

*dast kaśīdan* (to withdraw) :

naxost gardan-e ūrā afgār konam tā jān o jegar  
bekanad va *dast* az vezārat *bekaśad* (*Beihaqi*,  
153)  
(First I will break his neck, so that he may be faced  
with extreme agony and withdraw from the  
ministry.)

If *kaśīdan* conveys its literal meaning 'to draw', 'to extend', 'to protract', etc. its combination will not be called a compound verb, e.g.

*dīvār kaśīdan* (to draw a wall).

*saf kaśīdan* (to make a line).

*qad kaśīdan* (to grow tall).

*laśkar kaśīdan* (to lead an army).

*nafas kaśīdan* (to take breath).

*Peivastan*

3,18. There are a few compounds of *peivastan*, formed with an abstract noun although they are rarely used. In such compounds *peivastan* is generally equivalent to *kardan*.

*sa'y peivastan* (to try, to make effort) :

dar ebtāl-e heivānī va eŷteyāl-e mosalmānī be qasd  
va 'amd s'ay *peivandānd* (*Al-Tavassal*, 26)  
(They should make effort to vanquish the animals  
and kill the Muslims with all intention.)

*śorū' peivastan* (to begin, to commence) :

be yaraz dar śarh-e ān śorū'i natavān *peivast* (*Ibid.*  
9)  
(Its explanation cannot be begun deliberately.)

*Bastan*

3,19. *Bastan* forms a compound verb with an abstract noun and as such does not bear its literal meaning :

*del bastan* (to fall in love) :

maband del be' arūs-e jahān to az śahvat  
vagarče dar sar-e zolfaš hazār delbandīst (*Maqāmāt*,  
80)  
(Lest your heart tempt you to fall in love with the  
damsel of the world, though each of her curls is  
full of attraction.)

*tohmat bastan* (to slander, to calumniate) :

negar tā bar man īn *tohmat nabandī*  
ke hargez nāyad az man nāpasandī (*Vīs*, 190)  
(Hey, do not slander me because I cannot do any-  
thing unworthy.)

*sūrat bastan* (to assume a form, to happen) :

īn aōar dar haqq-e xodāvand *sūrat nabandad*  
(*Ma'āref*, 63)  
(Lest such a condition should happen for my lord.)

When *bastan* is used in its literal sense, its combination cannot be called a compound verb, e.g.

*ādīn bastan* (to decorate).

*'aqd bastan* (to make marriage contract.)

*Nehādan*

3,20. *Nehādan* forms its compound with an abstract noun and as such may be taken as equivalent to *kardan* :

*benā nehādan=benā kardan* (to build, to erect) :

ū 'emārat-e rabaz-e šahr ke keixosrou *benā nehād*  
tamām kard va 'emārat beyafzūd andar balyx  
(*Mojmal*, 51)

(He completed the town walls erected by Keikhosrou  
and added more building to Balkh.)

*asās nehādan* (to lay the foundation) :

zahī rafī' mahallat borūn ze hadd-e qeyās  
*benā-e doulat o dīn rā qavī nehād asās* (*Hasan*, 99)  
(The height of your position is beyond imagination,  
and it has laid the strong foundation of religion  
and administration.)

'ođr nehādan (to make or accept an apology) :

sāheb 'ođrī nehād va nodamā rā bāz gardānīd ('Eqd,  
62)  
(Sāheb made an apology and returned his com-  
panions.)

*Xvāstan*

3,21. It has been stated earlier that the *hamkard* verb does not bear its literal meaning. But *xvāstan* in most of its compounds, retains the meaning 'to request', or 'demand' yet the following may be taken as compound verbs :

*zenhār xvāstan* (to seek refuge) :

dāmād-e ratbil *zenhār xvāst* (*Sīstān*, 144)  
(The son-in-law of Ratbil sought refuge.)

'ođr xvāstan (to apologize) :

andar vaqt ūrā pīš-e xīš āvard va 'ođr xvāst (*Ibid.*  
102)  
(Immediately, he summoned him to his presence and  
apologized.)

*bār xvāstan* (to seek audience) :

yekī mard bar dar ast...va *bār mī xvāhad*  
(*Barāmeke*, 18) ..

(There is a man at the gate seeking audience.)

### *Šodan*

3,22. *Šodan* is an incomplete verb and attributes a state or quality to the subject. Thus, it is equivalent to *būdan*<sup>1</sup> and its combination will not be taken as a compound verb :

*kūr šodan* (to become blind) :

jāvid bedīn har do malek molk qavī bād  
tā kūr šavad došman-e bad baxt-e negūnsār  
(Farrokhī, 122)

(May both the king and the country be powerful  
for ever and may the unfortunate enemy  
become blind.)

*gorosne šodan* (to be hungry) :

çün gorosne šavī nān xorī (Kīmeyā, 9)  
(Take bread when you are hungry.)

*separī šodan* (to come to an end, to finish) :

ke andar nasab nīz hargez xelāf separī našavad  
(Mojmal, 24)  
(Even in genealogy controversy never comes to an  
end.)

*peidā šodan* (to appear, to become visible) :

pas ahraman peidā šod (Ibid. 22)  
(So the devil appeared.)

1. *Budan* is not like those verbs which form a compound in combination with a noun or adjective. It is either an auxiliary verb used with the Perfect and Pluperfect, e.g.

*raste ast* (He has gone.)  
*raste bud* (He had gone.)

or it is a verb of incomplete predication, attributing a quality to the subject, e.g.

*name safid ast* (The letter is white.)  
*in mard xeradmand ast* (This man is wise.)  
*ardśir pahlavan bud* (Ardshir was a hero.)  
*Ferdousi soxanvar-e bozorgi bud* (Ferdousi was a great  
poet.)

In the above sentences, *pahlavan budan* or *safid budan* cannot be taken as a compound verb because each of their components conveys its original meaning.

*harām šodan* (to become unlawful, forbidden) :

bar xod har ānke kesvat-e kinat halāl dāst  
xūnaš halāl gašt-o-halālaš *harām šod* ('Eqd, 42)  
(Whosoever regards it lawful to put on the robe of  
enmity against you, to shed his blood is lawful,  
and to eat his lawful (bread) is unlawful.)

The passive voice of a simple transitive verb may also be formed by adding *šodan* to the past participle of the former :

*sāxtan* (to make, to do)

*sāxte šodan* (to be made) :

īšān dar īn soxan būdand ke ān mohemm-e šeikh  
*sāxte šod* (Asrār, 208)

(They were in the course of this talk when the im-  
portant work of the Sheikh was done.)

*rīxtan* (to shed)

*rīxte šodan* (to be shed) :

va basī xūn-e bīgonāhān ke dar šīša-e seyānat negāh  
dāste bāšand bar zamīn *rīxte šavad* (Marzbān,  
180)

(Much blood of the innocent, protected so far, will  
be shed on the ground.)

*godāxtan* (to melt)

*godāxte šodan* (to be melted) :

ādam ke matla'-e īn taxlıq būd dar maqta'-e īn tafrīq  
*godāxte šod* (Maqāmāt, 78)

(Adam who was the start of creation, was melted  
(vanquished) in the course of disunity.)

*gošādan* (to open)

*gošāde šodan* (to be opened) :

hesār gošāde šod va savār va peyāde bīrūn āmadand  
('Eqd, 42)

(The fort was opened, and the footmen and the  
horsemen came out.)

*koštan* (to kill)

*košte šodan* (to be killed) :

andarīn vaq'at haftād hazār mard az rūmeyān *košte*  
*šod* (Sistān, 73)

(In this battle seventy thousand Romans were killed.)

*pardāxtan* (to accomplish)

*pardāxte šodan* (to be accomplished) :

va çün *pardāxte šod* bīrūn raft (*Seyāsat Kh.* 69.)

(When it was accomplished he went out.)

*āmīxtan* (to mix, to mingle)

*āmīxte šodan* (to be mixed, mingled) :

va maðhab-e xorramdīnī bā gabrī va śī'ī *āmīxte šod*

(*Ibid.* 157)

(The Khorramdīni faith was mixed with Magianism and Shi'ism.)

*āfarīdan* (to create)

*āfarīde šodan* (to be created) :

har do 'ālam be yek daf'e *āfarīde šode ast* (*Abol-Heitham*, 96)

(Both the worlds were created in one instance.)

*gostan* (to say)

*goste šodan* (to be said) :

*goste šode ast* ke şomār tāq ast va joft (*Ibid.* 10)

(It has been stated that a number is either odd or even.)

*pūšīdan* (to conceal)

*pūšīde šodan* (to be concealed, hidden)

va ān tanāqoz bar ū *pūšīde šode ast* bā zīrakī va  
bīdārī-e ū (*Zād*, 84)

(And this contradiction is hidden from him in spite of his intelligence and awareness.)

*Šodan* may also be used to form the passive of the compound of *kardan* :

*peidā kardan* (to discover).

*peida karde šodan* (to be discovered)

in ke *goste šod haliyat būd* be tahqīq va māhīyat būd  
be majāz, va be şarh *peidā karde šode ast*  
(*Abol-Heitham*, 34)

(What has been said is '*haliyat*' literally and quiddity figuratively, and it has been discovered with explanation.)

The transitive compound verbs of *kardan* may be made passive (intransitive) by substituting *kardan* with *śodan*. Such combination of *śodan* should be regarded as a compound verb :

*gesmat kardan* (to divide)

*gesmat śodan* (to be divided) :

meyāne andar be do *gesmat śavad* (*Sīstān*, 23)

(The middle should be divided into two.)

*talaf kardan* (to ruin, to waste)

*talaf śodan* (to be ruined, wasted) :

va xalal dar molk va dīn darāyad va xvāsta-e mardom

*talaf śavad* (*Seyāsat Kh.* 133).

(Disorder will permeate the country and faith, and people's riches will be wasted.)

*havāle kardan* (to entrust)

*havāle śodan* (to be entrusted) :

ānce dar jouf-e peyāle bovad be me'de *havāle śavad* (*Maqāmāt*, 216)

(What is in the cup, is entrusted to the stomach.)

*mahv kardan* (to annihilate, to efface)

*mahv śodan* (to be annihilated) :

man be to hast mī śavad va bāz ham be to *madv mī śavad* (*Ma'āref*, 7)

(The I comes into existence with you and is again annihilated with you.)

*yārat kardan* (to plunder)

*yārat śodan* (to be plundered, to be destroyed) :

haśam va qoumī ke bā vei mī āmadand nīz besyār  
*yārat śodī* (*Beihaqī*, 161)

(The people and officers coming along with him were also plundered in great number.)

*halāk kardan* (to kill, to destroy)

*halāk śodan* (to be destroyed, to perish) :

ba'zī *halāk śodand* az gorosnagī va ba'zī rā sebā'  
halāk kardand (*Nasīhat*, 30)

(Some of them were destroyed by hunger and some others were killed by the beasts.)

*hesār kardan* (to besiege)

*hesār šodan* (to be besieged) :

hajjāj bā laškar beyāmad va bā 'abdollāh jang peivast  
va makke *hesār šod* (*Beihaqī*, 189)

(Hajjāj came with a force and engaged himself in  
a war with 'Abdollāh and Mecca was besieged.)

*yārq kardan* (to drown)

*yārq šodan* (to be drowned) :

va bīstar yārān-e ū koštē šod yā *yārq šod*  
(*Sīstān*, 116)

(And most of his friends were either killed or  
drowned.)

### *Gaštan (Gardīdan)*

3,23. This verb is exactly equivalent to *šodān* and like it, is used in  
the following three forms :

(1) It attributes a quality to the subject in the manner of a verb of  
incomplete predication :

*xastū gaštan* (to believe, to recognise, to realise) :

ço qašmaš dīd jānaš *gašt xastū* (*Vīs*, 109)  
(When he saw her eyes his soul believed it.)

*yekrūye gaštan* (to become smooth, even, settled) :

pas az ānke amīr mas'ūd az herāt be balx āmad va  
kārhā *yekrūye gašt* (*Beihaqī*, 13)

(After that Amīr Mas'ūd returned from Balkh and  
the matters were settled.)

*āgāh gaštan* (to become aware) :

hame az yekdīgar *āgāh gaštan* (*Seyāsat* Kh. 163)  
(They all became aware of one another.)

*xajel gaštan* (to feel ashamed) :

✓ mazdak *xajel gašt* (*Ibid.* 148)  
(Mazdak felt ashamed.)

*mo'takef gaštan* (to retire, to isolate, to become retired) :

dargāh-e mašā'ēx rā molāzem gardad va 'ataba-e  
pīrān rā *mo'takef gardad* (*Asrār*, 53)

(He should attend the assembly of the saints and retire to the gate of the spiritual guides.)

*bande gaštan* (to serve) :

çün padirofti-am be farzandī—  
*bande gaštam bedin xodāvandi* (*Haft*, 253)

(As you have adopted me as your son, I pledge to serve you in spite of my mastery.)

Nouns used as adjectives, when combined with *gaštan* have the same significance as the above verbs :

*fasāne gaštan* (to become a legend, a story of the past) :

*fasāne gašt* o kohan šod hadīθ-e eskandar  
 soxan nou ār ke nou rā halāvatfist degar (*Farrokhi*, 67)

(The story of Alexander has become a legend and old. Now narrate something new because the new is always sweet.)

*hejāb gaštan* (to become an obstacle, a hindrance) :

hargez ū dar çār vaqt az çār çīz andar namānd  
 'ejz hargez piš-e yek nahmat *nagašt* ūrā *hejāb*  
 (*Farrokhi*, 8)

(In four situations, he is never stopped by four things. Helplessness never becomes an obstacle for his ambition.)

(2) *Gaštan* with the past participle of a transitive, forms the passive, and as such may be regarded an auxiliary verb :

*parākande gaštan* (to be dispersed, scattered) :

meyān-e sepāh andar āmad ço gorg,  
*parākanda gaštand* xord o bozorg (*Shāh-Nāme*, 491)  
 (As he entered the ranks of the army like a wolf, the young and the old were all dispersed.)

*āyašte gaštan* (to be smeared, watered) :

be xūn gašt *āyašte* hāmūn o kūh  
 ze bas košte āmad ze har do gorūh (*Ibid.* 400)  
 (So many persons were killed on either side that the hill and desert were watered with blood.)

*āzorde gaštan* (to be afflicted, vexed) :

ço āzorde gaštī to ei piltan  
pašīmān šodam, xākam andar dahān (*Ibid.* 472)  
(O Rostam, as you are vexed and afflicted, I am  
sorry. Curse me.)

*baste gaštan* (to be closed) :

har ke tan bedān dar dād darhā-e xeir bar vei baste  
gardad (*Kalilé G.* 198)  
(He who submitted to it, the gates of virtue are  
closed upon him.)

*pūšide gaštan* (to be concealed, hidden) :

va rāy-e došman pūšide nagardad (*Ibid.* 197)  
(The plan of the enemy should not be concealed.)

*gosaste gaštan* (to be broken, disrupted) :

va agar īn maslehat bar in seyāqat re'āyat nayāstū  
nezām-e kārhā gosaste gaštī (*Ibid.* 4)  
(If this matter had not been settled in this manner  
the order of affairs would have been disrupted.)

*ārāste gaštan* (to be ornamented) :

agar kašešī padid āyad bande bedān kašeš ārāste  
gardad (*Asrār*, 316)  
(If there appears an urge, man is ornamented with  
that.)

*ālūde gaštan* (to be polluted, defiled.)

dast va jāma-e abol-'abbās ālūde gašt (*Ibid.* 50)  
(The hand and dress of Abol-'Abbās were polluted.)

*košte gaštan* (to be killed) :

mālī bī andāze andarān kār besod va besyār xalq  
košte gašt (*Barāmeke*, 65)  
(Immense wealth was spent and so many people  
were killed in this connection.)

*gošāde gaštan* (to be opened) :

dar yek lahze çonān qal'e...be şamşīr-e qahr  
gošāde gašt (*Al-Tavassol*, 137)  
(In a moment such a fort was opened with the  
sword of royal wrath.)

*pardāxte gaštan* (to be cleared, cleaned) :

del az γossa-e rūzgār-e nāsāzgār *pardāxta gařdad*  
*(Ibid. 261)*

(May the heart be cleared of the disgusting worldly anxiety.)

- (3) *Gaštan* is combined with a noun to make the passive (intransitive) of the corresponding compound combined with *kardan*, e.g.

*xatā gaštan* (a mistake to be committed) :

ānçe dīdīm be 'ayān va marā goftand *xatā nagardad*  
*(Sīstān, 65)*

(...They told me no mistake should be committed.)

*anjoman gaštan* (to assemble) :

ço kāvē borūn āmad az pīš-e sāh  
barū *anjoman gašt bāzārgāh* (*Shāh-Nāme*, 47)  
(When Kāvē came out of the royal presence, people assembled around him in the market-place.)

*yaqīn gaštan* (to be sure) :

har ke īn rā bebīnad *yaqīn gardad* ke īn sayyed ast  
bā īn nūr-e bozorg (*Sīstān*, 55)

(Whosoever looks at him, will be sure that he is a Sayyed with such an aura.)

*badal gaštan* (to change) :

pas kārhā *badal gašt* (*Asrār*, 38)  
(So the matters changed.)

*xūn gaštan* (to be afflicted) :

del-e xārā ze bīm-e tīγ-e ū *xūn gašt pendārī*  
*(Farrokhi, 2)*

(Even the heart of the rock is afflicted at the fear of his sword.)

*halāk gaštan* (to perish, to be lost) :

sīr o gūr ūftād o *gāst haiāk*  
tīr tā par neśāt dar del-e xāk (*Hast*, 71)  
(His arrow entirely penetrated the ground, and killed the lions and wild asses.)

*talaf gaštan* (to be destroyed) :

va tamāmat-e ḡallāt *talaf gašt* (*Sīstān*, 414)  
(The food grain was destroyed completely.)

*Gardāndan, Gardānidan*

3,24. This verb is the transitive of *gaštan* or *gardīdan*. Combined with a noun or adjective it makes a transitive and as such it is equivalent to *kardan*.

1. Combined with a noun :

*masx gardāndan* (to change into a deformed shape) :

sagat rā band kon tā kei ze soudā  
ke tā *masxat nagardānand fardā* (*Elāhī*, 75)  
(Chain the mad dog of self, so that you may not be deformed on the day of judgement.)

*naqd gardāndan* (to make ready, to make the benefit realize) :

xodāyā *naqd garān* ī sa'ādat  
ke gardad har zamān bārān zeyādat (*Elāhī*, 107)  
(May God make this blessing ready and increase the rain every moment.)

*kaſf gardāndan* (to discover) :

*kaſf gardān* kaz kodāmīn ferqe-am (*Mathnavi*, 534)  
(Discover to which group I belong.)

2. Combined with an adjective :

*ārāste gardāndan* (to adorn, to decorate) :

va ūrā be honarhā-e pādshāhāne va sīrathā-e setūde  
*ārāste-gardānad* (*Seyāsat Kh.* 5)  
(And he should adorn him with royal arts and praiseworthy character.)

*bātel gardāndan* (to prove to be false, to render vain, to invalidate) :

va soxan-e mazdak rā *bātel gardānd* (*Ibid.* 145)  
(He proved the words of Mazdak to be false.)

*zāher gardāndan* (to exhibit, to manifest) :

çūn ānjā šod ā0ār-e kefāyat *zāher gardānid* ('Eqd. 88)  
(When he reached there, he exhibited the signs of competency).

*modavvan gardāndan* (to compile) :

agar fonūn-e tajāreb va sonūf-e ma'refat-e ū be

*qavānīn...modavvan gardānand (Ibid. 36)*  
 (If his various experiences and knowledge of different law are compiled...)

*mostazhar gardāndan* (to back, to support) :

peivaste fozalā-e xorāsān va 'erāq rā...  
 be anvā'-e mavā'īd va tamanneyāt *mostazhar gardāndī* (Ibid. 102)  
 (He always backed the scholars of Khorāsān and 'Irāq with various promises and temptations.)

Nouns used in place of adjectives also form such compounds with *gardāndan* :

*halāk gardāndan* (to kill) :

ān mard rā begodār va agarna torā *halāk gardānam* (Asrār, 186)  
 (Leave that man otherwise I will kill you.)

#### *Farmūdan*

3,25. This verb was originally used to mean 'to order, to command, 'to do something' :

malek *farmūd* tā xanjar kaśidand  
 takāvar markabaś rā pei borīdand (*Khosrou*, 45)  
 (The king ordered to draw the dagger and cut the sinew of his swift horse.)

Subsequently, while showing a reverence or quoting from an honourable person *farmūdan* was used in place of *kardan*. It is combined both with a noun and adjective to make a transitive or intransitive compound :

*hokm farmūdan* (to give an order) :

va man bī haqīqati *hokm naxāham farmūd* (Seyāsat Kh. 96)  
 (I will not give an order without some reason.)

*ta'ammol farmūdan* (to deliberate, to consider) :

tavaqqo' ast ke ahl-e ma'refat va arbāb-e derāyat  
 dar īn savād be 'ein-e rezā *ta'ammol farmāyand* ('Eqd, 6)  
 (It is expected that men of knowledge and vision would consider this work with an attitude of approval.)

*morāja<sup>c</sup>at farmūdan* (to return) :

malek tūrānsāh bā omarā-e fārs *morāja<sup>c</sup>at-e hazrat-e*  
*fārs farmūd* (*Ibid.* 10)  
 (King Tūrānshāh returned to Fārs along with his nobles.)

*adā farmūdan* (to pay) :

va ān çandān māl az bahr-e ū *adā farmūdī* (*Barā-meke*, 13)  
 (He used to pay so much money for his sake.)

*motāla<sup>c</sup>e farmūdan* (to study, to read) :

çūn ān kāyzaz *motāla<sup>c</sup>e farmūd* gūna-e ū *mota'yayyar*  
*va cehra-e ū motakadder gašt* ('Eqd, 63)  
 (When he studied that paper his face changed colour and became clouded.)

### *Yāftan*

3.26. This verb is combined with an abstract noun to make a passive compound :

*xabar yāftan* (to be informed) :

mahmūdeyān laxtī *xabar yāftand* az hāl-e īn do  
 kadroxodāy (*Beihaqi*, 222)  
 (The supporters of Mahmūd were partly informed about these two chiefs.)

*qarār yāftan* (to be settled, pacified) :

kār-e torkamānān-e saljūqī ke be nasā būdand,  
*qarār yāft* (*Ibid.*, 493)  
 (The affair of the Seljuq Turkomans who were in Nasā, was settled.)

*faraj yāftan* (to be relieved or freed) :

tavāngar gaštām va az yāmhā *faraj yāftam* (*Barā-meke*, 38)  
 (I became rich and was relieved of anxieties.)

*gošāyeš yāftan* (to be delighted, elated) :

tā bedān šahr tab' *gošāyešī yābad* (*Maqāmāt*, 43)  
 (So that the heart is delighted in that city.)

*θabāt yāftan* (to last long) :

hargez qā'eda-e doulat *θabāt nayābad* (*Al-Tavassol*, 79)

(The base of fortune never lasts long.)

*roxsat yāftan* (to be allowed, permitted) :

xāter be enjeðāb-e āmāl be ehmāl-e ān *roxsat namī yāft* (*Ibid.* 164)

(Under the impact of desires, the heart was not allowed to leave it.)

*śefā yāftan* (to be cured, healed) :

azān bālā-e kūh barvaçgān gardad, śefā yābad  
(*Sīstān*, 14)

(As he returns from above the hill, he is healed.)

*xalās yāftan* (to be released or liberated) :

aknūn çīzī konīd tā *xalās yābīd* (*Ma'āref*, 37)

(Now do something that you may be released.)

### Compound Verbs of Three Words

(Noun or adjective + verbal prefix + verb)

3,27. A noun or adjective is sometimes combined with a prefixed verb to make a compound which generally conveys a figurative meaning :

*dam dar kašīdan* (to keep quiet) :

ço majlesyānaś īn pāsox śonīdand

hame yekbāragī *dam dar kašīdand* (*Elāhi*, 300)

(When his courtiers heard this reply, they kept quiet.)

*sar dar āvardan* (to accept, to concede) :

saboktegīn *sar dar namī āvard* tā elzāmaś kardand

(*Seyāsat Kh.* 85)

(Saboktegin was not conceding till he was charged.)

*del bar kandan* (to renounce) :

va tā az çāśim-e ū nāpadid naśavim *del* az mā *bar nakanad* (*Kalile G.* 144)

(Unless we disappear from his eyes, he will not renounce us.)

*dast bāz dāştan* (to give up, to leave) :

har ke az jamā'at *dast bāz dārad* ān mal'ūn ast  
(*Savād*, 33)

(He who leaves the society will be damned.)

har ān kas ke *namāz dast bāz dāšt dīn rā dast bāz dāšt* (*Qābūs* P, 17)  
 (Whosoever gives up prayer, renounces his faith.)

*sar bar āvardan* (to rise, to rebel) :

*azīn sabab az har gūše došmanān sar bar āvardand*  
 (*Mojmal*, 109)  
 (So the enemies revolted in every corner of the state.)

*dāman bar zadan* (to prepare for a work, to become ready) :

*qaśm-e vafā bāz bast naqz-e ‘ahd rā dāman bar zad*  
 (*Al-Tarassol*, 346)  
 (He closed the eyes of loyalty and prepared himself  
 to break the vow.)

*tan dar dādan* (to submit, to resign) :

*mardān tan rā yale karde and...va tan dardāde and*  
*bar ommid-e bū-e īn hadīth* (*Asrār*, 299)  
 (Men have abandoned their body and for years have  
 resigned themselves in the hope of this tradition.)

*sar bar zadan* (to rise) :

*ço sar bar zad xor-e tābān degar rüz*  
*forūzān rü-e ū şod gitī afrūz* (*Vis*, 295)  
 (Next day when the sun rose and illuminated the  
 entire world....)

*sar bāz zadan* (to refuse to do something) :

*pas agar rūzī çand sabr bāyad kard dar ranj-e*  
*‘ebādat va band-e şari’at, ‘āqel çegūme az ān*  
*sar bāz zanad* (*Kalile G.* 49)

(How can a wise man refuse if he is required to  
 endure the hardship of prayer and the conditions  
 of religion ?)

*yosl bar āvardan* (to bathe) :

*yahyā rā be kenār-e āb bordand tā yosl bar āvarad*  
 (*Asrār*, 165)  
 (Yahyā was taken to the bank of water so that he  
 might bathe.)

*bāng bar zadan* (to shout, to call out) :

*Amīr bedīd va berānd va bāng be mardak bar zad*  
 (*Beihagi*, 450)

(The Amir saw the man, shouted at him and drove him away.)

*bār bar āvardan* (to bear fruit) :

ammā besyār toxm bāšad ke *bār bar nayāvarad*  
(*Ma'āref*, 81)

(There are many seeds which do not bear fruit.)

### Compound Verbs formed with a Common Noun

3,28. As noticed earlier, a compound verb generally consists of an abstract noun but when it contains a common noun it often bears a figurative meaning. There are, however, some exceptions. For instance, if the common noun denotes a human organ its compound generally conveys the act performed by that organ :

*gūś kardan* 'to listen' :

konūn *gūś kon* raftan o kār-e zāl-  
ke śod zī menuehr-e farxondefāl (*Shāh-Nāme*, 205)  
(Now listen to the departure and mission of Zāl who  
went to the auspicious Menuchehr.)

*gūś dāśtan* 'to listen' :

Śāh-e gītī be soxan gofgan-e ū *dārad gūś*  
ū hamī bārad çün dorr soxanhā ze dahān (*Farrokhi*,  
322)  
(The lord of the world listens while he speaks-and he  
speaks as if pearls are showered.)

Similarly, the compound verbs containing the name of an instrument or tool, convey the act performed with that particular instrument. For example, the following compounds of *kardan* :

*śāne kardan* (to comb) :

çün gohar-e 'eqd falak dāne kara  
ja'd-e śab az gard-e 'adam *śāne kard* (*Makhzan*, 4)  
(When the heaven scattered away the pearls of its  
necklace and combed away the dust of non-  
existence from the hair of the night...)

*halqe kardan* (to encircle, to put a ring) :

*konad halqe dar* gardan-e kangore  
śavad śir śād az śekār-e bare (*Shāh-Nāme*, 161)  
(He puts a ring around the top of the pinnacle...)

*mohr kardan* (to seal) :

sarāy rā forū gereftand va darhā *mohr kardand*  
 (Beihagi, 229)  
 (They seized the house and sealed the doors.)

*qofl kardan* (to lock) :

xādem bīrūn āmad...va dar-e mašhad az bīrūn  
 bebast va *qofl kard* (Asrār, 378)  
 (The servant came out...He closed the door of  
 the tomb from outside and then locked it.)

*zīn kardan* (to saddle) :

šeš sar asb *zīn konīd* az bahr-e kanīzakān va  
 xādemān (Barāmeke, 60.)  
 (Saddle six horses for the maids and slaves.)

The following compounds used in current Persian also belong to the above category. All of them are transitive :

*jārū kardan* (to sweep).  
*pārū kardan* (to row).  
*śāne kardan* (to comb).  
*rānde kardan* (to plane).  
*āseyā kardan* (to grind).

*Zadan* like *kardan* also makes compound verbs with a common noun :

*śāne zadan* (to comb) :

zolf rā *śāne zad* o halqa o bandaś begośād  
 dāmanī mošk forū rīxt azān zolf-e seyāh (Farrokhi,  
 355)  
 (As she combed her hair opening the knots and curls  
 it seemed that musk was diffused from her  
 black locks.)

*halqe zadan* (to encircle) :

beparrīd simory o bar šod be abr  
 hamī *halqe zad* bar sar-e mard-e gabr (Shāh-Nāme,  
 143)  
 (The Simurgh flew and reached up to the clouds and  
 then it encircled on the head of the gebr.)

*çougān zadan* (to play polo)

*çougān zadī* be śādī bā bandagān-e xīś...  
 (Farrokhi, 22)  
 (You played polo along with your servants...)

*būq zadan* (to blow the horn) :

meθāl dād tā bar qal'at dohal va *būq zadand*  
(*Beihaqi*, 6)

(He ordered to beat the drum and blow the horn  
before the fort.)

Nouns indicating a disease are also combined with *kardan* to make an intransitive or passive verb, e.g.

*varam kardan* (to swell).

*āble kardan* (to be affected with smallpox).

*tab kardan* (to suffer from fever).

### Semantic Contrast of the Hamkards

3,29. The *hamkard* verbs that make a compound are at times contrary to one another in respect of aspect. Some of them, for instance, simply indicate the happening of an act while others add a sense of continuity to it.

Compound verbs formed with *dāstan* generally bear the meaning that an act continued for some time. Thus it has a sort of contrast with a simple verb or its compound with *kardan*. This point is confirmed by the oldest extant Persian works where, instead of using a simple or prefixed verb, the author uses a compound of *dāstan* with the Past Participle of the verb concerned because he wants to convey the delicate difference between a simple verb and its compound with *dāstan*. In the Commentary on the Qor'ān preserved in the Cambridge University and composed probably in the 5th century A.H. (eleventh century A.D.) the following compounds are used :

*bar baste dāstan* (to keep fastened) instead of *bar bastan* (to fasten) :

*pīrāyehā bar-baste dārand.*

(The decorations should be kept fastened)

*bar nehāde dāstan* (to keep wearing) instead of *bar nehādan* (to put on, to wear) :

*dast-berenjanhā bar nehāde dārand*

(They should keep on wearing the bracelets.)

*pūšide dāstan* (to keep wearing) instead of *pūšidan* (to wear) :

*qortahā-e behešt pūšide dārand*

(They should keep on wearing the heavenly shirts.)

= 'to keep a secret' :

*ānce andar delhā pūšide dārand nīz bedānad*

(He should also know what they keep in their heart.)

*dāde dāštan* (to keep on giving) instead of *dādan* (to give) :

*dāde dārand zakāt-e xāstehā rā*

(They should keep on giving charity out of their money.)

*gozārde dāštan* (to keep offering or performing) instead of *gozārdan* (to offer, to perform) :

*va namāzhā gozārde dārand be śarthā-e ān*

(And they should keep on offering prayer.)

*karde dāštan* (to keep on doing) instead of *kardan* (to do) :

*panj namāz gozārde dārad va māh-e ramazām rūze  
dārad va namāz-e xofstan karde dārad<sup>1</sup>*

(He should keep on offering five prayers and on fasting in the month of Ramazān and should keep on offering the night prayer.)

Such compound verbs are found in other works also as against a simple verb or its compound with *kardan* :

*gośāde dāštan* (to keep open) instead of *gośādan* (to open) :

*kaf-e dast gośōde dāst har do (Sīstān, 279)*

(He kept both of his palms open.)

*kaśide dāštan* (to keep pulled or drawn) instead of *kaśidan* (to pull, to draw) :

*va bedān kūdak ke tā dar maktab bāšad az bīm-e  
dovāl-e mo'allem pāy dar dāman-e ta'addob  
kaśide dārad (Marzbān, 28)*

(So long as the child is in the school he should keep his legs drawn under the skirt of discipline out of the fear of the teacher's rod.)

*pūšide dāštan* (to keep secret, concealed) instead of *pūšīdan* (to conceal) :

*va az har ke mī porsam bā man rāst namī gūyad va  
pūšide mī dārad (Seyāsat Kh. 17)*

(Nobody whom I ask, tells me the truth and keeps it a secret from me.)

*ranje dāštan* (to keep in torment, or torture) instead of *ranje kardan* (to torment, to torture)

*ūrā ranje dāstand (Eqd 10)*

(They kept him in torture.)

1. Matini, Jalal, Majalla-e-Danesh-kada-e Adabiyyat Mashhad, vol. IV, No. 4, Fe'l-o-Morakkab bejay-e Fe'l Basit.

Compounds made with *kardan* and *dāštan* sometimes bear a sort of comparison to each other :

*mahrūm kardan* (to deprive).

*mahrūm dāštan* (to keep deprived).

*xvār kardan* (to insult, to humiliate).

*xvār dāštan* (to keep in humiliation).

*mottaham kardan* (to accuse).

*mottaham dāštan* (to keep on accusing).

*'azm kardan* (to resolve).

*'azm dāštan* (to cherish an intention).

*šetāb kardan* (to hurry).

*šetāb dāštan* (to be in a hurry).

Such semantic difference is also noticed in the compounds formed with *gereftan* and *dāštan*. The former denotes the beginning of an act whereas the latter emphasizes its continuity :

*yād gereftan* (to remember).

*yād dāštan* (to keep in mind).

*sorāy gereftan* (to trace, to locate).

*sorāy dāštan* (to keep a trace of).

*olfat gereftan* (to become familiar).

*olfat dāštan* (to be friendly).

Two *hamkards* sometimes differ in another respect, for instance, a compound of *kardan* simply indicates the happening of an event while its counterpart with *gardānīdan* shows the change of state :

*ostovār kardan* (to strengthen).

*ostovār gardānīdan* (to make firm or strong).

*bātel kardan* (to nullify, to invalidate).

*bātel gardānīdan* (to render null and void, to prove to be false).

*zāher kardan* (to show).

*zāher gardānīdan* (to make apparent or clear).

Compounds with *kardan* or *gardānīdan* are transitive (active) whereas those with *śodan* and *gaśtan* are passive (intransitive) :

*halāk kardan* (to kill, to destroy).

*halāk śodan* (to be killed, lost or destroyed).

*γārat kardan* (to plunder).  
*γārat šodan* (to be plundered or destroyed).

*āšofte kardan* (to disturb).  
*āšofte šodān* (to be disturbed).

*āgāh kardan* (to inform).  
*āgāh gaštan* (to be aware).

*xajel kardan* (to make (one) ashamed.)  
*xajel gaštan* (to become ashamed, to feel shame).

*pašīmān kardan* (to make (one) regret).  
*pašīmān gaštan* (to regret, to repent).

The same comparison is noticed between the compounds of *zadan* and *xordan*.

*latme zadan* (to injure, to damage).  
*latme xordan* (to be injured, damaged).

*āsīb zadan* (to hurt).  
*āsīb xordan* (to be hurt).

The compounds of *dādan* and *yāftan* also bear the same comparison:

*parvareš dādan* (to train, to foster).  
*parvareš yāftan* (to be trained or fostered).

*ravāj dādan* (to propagate, to circulate).  
*ravāj yāftan* (to be propagated, to become current).

*āgāhī dādan* (to notify, inform).  
*āgāhī yāftan* (to be informed).

*peivand dādan* (to join, link, graft).  
*peivand yāftan* (to be joined, grafted, linked).

*bahre dādan* (to benefit somebody).  
*bahre yāftan* (to profit by something, to enjoy).

*voqūf dādan* (to inform, to guide).  
*voqūf yāftan* (to be informed).

Compounds formed with *dādan* are transitive (active) while those with *dīdan* are passive :

*ranj dādan* (to afflict, torment).  
*ranj dīdan* (to be afflicted).

*šekanje dādan* (to put to torture).  
*šekanje dīdan* (to be put to torture).

*zajr dādan* (to torment, to persecute).  
*zajr dīdan* (to be tormented, persecuted).

A compound made with *raftan* and an (Arabic) verbal noun is passive and is equal to the compound of *śodan* formed with the corresponding Past Participle :

*'etāb raftan* (to be reproved).  
*'ahd raftan* (a vow to be made).  
*ested'ā raftan* (to be entreated).  
*ta'bīr raftan* (to be interpreted).  
*mozāyaqat raftan* (to be withheld).  
*hayālat raftan* (to be entrusted).

3,30. The *hamkard* verbs that form a compound in Persian and mentioned above, may be classified into three categories :

- a) Those which make a compound both with a noun and adjective. They are :

<i>kardan</i>	<i>nemādan</i>
<i>farmūdan</i>	<i>gardāndan</i>
<i>āvardan</i>	<i>dāstan</i>

- b) Those which form a compound with a noun only :

<i>dādan</i>	<i>śodan</i>
<i>gereftan</i>	<i>bordan</i>
<i>gaštan</i>	<i>nehādan</i>
<i>kaštān</i>	<i>gardīdan</i>
<i>raftan</i>	<i>bastan</i>
<i>dīdan</i>	<i>xordan</i>
<i>xvāstan</i>	<i>zadan</i>
<i>peivastan</i>	<i>yāftan</i>

- c) Those which are combined with an adjective only :

<i>āmadan</i>	<i>sāxtan</i>
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## Syntactic Relation among the Components of a Compound Verb

4,1. Some scholars have tried to find out syntactic relation among the various components of a compound verb. According to them, if a compound consists of a noun and a verb, the noun may be taken as the object to the verb. For example, the word *hesāb* in the compound *hesāb kardān* (to make calculation) is object to the verb because if we ask, 'what did he do?' the answer would be *hesāb* (calculation).

This argument is, however, not well-founded because any simple verb may become the answer to a what-question. For instance, if it is asked 'what did he do?' it may be answered, 'He laughed' or 'He sat down'. Secondly, many compound verbs do not warrant a what-question because, as stated earlier, the verbal part of a compound no longer retains its original meaning. For example, the compound *harf zadan* means 'to talk'. Here *zadan* does not convey its original meaning 'to strike, to hit' and, therefore, it cannot be asked 'what did he strike or hit'.

Similarly, a compound formed with an adjective is a perfect whole and the adjective is neither the object of the verb nor its complement. *Safid* (white) in the compound *safid kardān* (to whiten) is neither a complement nor an object to *kardān*. Therefore, in order to establish a relation among the components of a compound verb we can only say that the verb constituent is an inflectional part of the whole and, in some cases, it has a special use also.

### Compound Verb in Sentence Construction

4,2. The position of a compound verb, in relation to other parts of a sentence, is as follows:

4,3. When the two components of a compound verb come immediately after each other with no word or words separating them, they should be taken at par with a simple verb, e.g.

agar 'oqāb sū-e jang-e ū šetāb konad  
= agar ... *bešetābad*  
(If an eagle rushes to his war ...)

4,4. But when a compound verb is split by a word or words the latter may have different syntactic relations with the verb.

When a compound verb consists of a noun, the intervening word may have any one of the following relations with the verb :

- The intervening word may qualify the preceding noun as an adjec-

tive and modify the following verb as an adverb :

*şokr kardan* (to thank) :

*şokr-e besyār kard* (*Beihaqi*, 87)  
(He thanked very much.)

*kūsēš kardan* (to try, to make effort)

*kūsēš-c farāvān kardan*  
(to make much effort.)

In such cases the adverb may precede the compound verb, e.g.

*farāvān esrār kard*  
(He insisted very much.)  
*besyār kūsēš kard*  
(He made much effort.)

The structure of such a sentence and the order of its various parts do not differ from a simple verb sentence.

b) If the intervening word is a noun and a complement to the preceding noun it may be taken as an object to the compound verb, e.g.

*kāsf-e asrār kardan* = (*asrār rā*) *kašf kardan* (to disclose secrets).

But if there is more than one intervening noun, the first will be taken as the object and the rest as its complement:

*hekāyat-e ranj-e mofāraqat konad* (*Al-Tavassol*, 247)  
(He narrates the agony of separation.)  
*havās rā ta'lim-e šekār kardan-e modrekāt mī kar-dand* (*Ma 'āref*, 122)  
(They trained their senses to overpower the intellectual powers.)

The intervening noun may be followed by an adjective, e.g.

*kāsf-e asrār-e nehān kardan*  
= *asrār-c (nehān) rā kašf kardan* (to disclose the hidden secrets.)

In the above construction '*asrār*' (the noun) is object and *nehān* is its qualifying adjective.

c) If the object of a compound verb is a personal pronoun it cannot come in between its two components :

<i>ūrā ta'lim dādam</i> (I taught him.)	correct.
<i>ta'lim ūrā dādam.</i>	wrong
<i>tora āgāh kardam</i> (I informed you.)	correct
<i>āgāh torā kardam.</i>	wrong

d) But if the object is a pronominal suffix it is either attached to the noun, e.g.

<i>kašf-as kardam</i> (I discovered him.)
<i>Qabāt-as dād</i> (He gave him strength.)
<i>mahrūm-am kard</i> (He deprived me.)
<i>yāde-sān dād</i> (He instructed them.)

or to the verb, e.g.

<i>kašf kard-as</i> (He discovered him.)
<i>Qabāt dād-as</i> (He gave him stability.)
<i>mahrūm kard-am</i> (He deprived me.)
<i>yād dād-sān</i> (He instructed them.)

In modern Persian the former is more current and popular than the latter which is a bit archaic.

e) When the indefinite *ī* is suffixed to the noun of a compound verb it seems to change the sense of the whole compound instead of the noun only :

<i>man be ū dars-ī dādam</i> (I taught him in a way.)
<i>bāham goftgū-ī dāstīm</i> (We had a sort of talk.)

4,5. If the first part of a transitive compound is an adjective, the object will intervene only when it is a pronominal suffix, e.g.

<i>āgāh-as kard</i> (He informed him.)
<i>āzād-at kardam</i> (I freed you.)
<i>dūst-at dāram</i> (I love you.)
<i>āsude-am kardī</i> (You have satisfied me.)

4,6. A prepositional phrase (indirect object) may intervene between the two components of a compound verb, e.g.

<i>sekāyat-e rūzgār bedīsān konam</i> ( <i>Barāmeke</i> , 35)
(I complain to them about time.)
<i>hīç xabar az īsān nadāstam</i> ( <i>Ibid.</i> 23)

(I had no news about them.)

va šabāhang *raxt* az manzel-e šab *bast* (*Maqāmāt*, 72)

(In the evening he departed from the station of Night.)

va nafs-e lāf-jūy *dam* az anā va lā yeir *mīzad* (*Ibid.* 32).

(The bragging self boasted of its unique greatness.)

*ebtedā* az šahr-e sepāhān *kardam* (*Ibid.* 72)

(I began from the city of Isfahān.)

*tark* az sīstān *gīram* va be hamān gūše rāzī šavam (*Sīstān*, 412)

(I shall leave Sīstān and will be contented with the same isolated corner.)

dar sarrā va zarrā ... *mašvarat* bā ū mī konand (*Al-Tavassol*, 181)

(They consult him both in ease and hardship.)

*rūy* be bīmārestān *nehādam* (*Maqāmāt*, 116)

(I turned my face to the hospital.)

va dīgar bāre *dast* be yārat va fasād *bordand* (*Seyāsat Kh.* 173.)

(Again they resorted to riot and plunder.)

mā nīz *eqtedā* be xān *konīm* (*Beihāqi*, 215)

(We also shall follow the Khan.)

Such usage is more popular in current Persian :

ūrā mašyūl *be kār* *kard* (He made him busy with a work.)

taqdīm *be ū* *kard* (He presented (it) to him.)

The preposition is sometimes omitted from the prepositional phrase and it is used as *ezāfe* to the noun :

garshāsb *raybat-e benā* *kardan-e sīstān* *kard* (*Sīstān*, 9)

(Garshāsb was inclined to populate Sīstān.)

#### iv) Verbal Phrase

5. *Verbal Phrase* means a group of words which, as a whole, bears a single meaning and which may be taken as equivalent to a simple or compound verb. It should also fulfil the following conditions :

- a) A verbal phrase should consist of more than two words.
- b) One of its components should be a preposition.
- c) The whole phrase should convey a new figurative meaning, different from the original meaning of each word.

For example, let us study a verbal phrase *az pāy dar āmadan* 'to fall down, to collapse'. This phrase contains four words : *az + pāy + dar + āmadan*. The first word *az* is a preposition. Individual words of this phrase like *pāy* or *dar āmadan* or *āmadan* no longer convey their original meaning. But the phrase as a whole means 'to fall down' and thus it may be taken synonymous with *ostādan*.

Such verbal phrases are quite common in Persian. Grammatically it should be treated as a verb because it has the same relation with other parts of the sentence. e.g.

*be dast āvardan* (to obtain) :

çonān molkī ke behest ast *be dast ārad* (*Ma'āref*, 18)  
(He obtained a country which is like the paradise.)

*be etmām rasāñidan* (to complete) :

'emārat-e hesār *be etmām rasāñid* (*Sīstān*, 406)  
(He completed the building of the fort.)

*be kār ostādan* (to work, to be useful) :

hīç hilatī namānde ast ke man nakardam tā 'abdollāh  
rā bar del-e in mard bad konam va *be kār namī*  
*ostad* (*Barāmeke*, 14)  
(No machination was left by me to make this man  
appear disgusting to 'Abdollah but it does not  
work.)

*be sar bordan* (to pass the time) :

dar šeib va farāz-e 'erāq va hejāz *be sar mī-bordam*  
(*Maqāmāt*, 7)  
(I was passing the time in the ups and downs of  
Iraq and Hijāz.)

*be jāy āvardun* (to execute, to comply with) :

sonnat-e eslām *be jāy āvardam* (*Ibid.* 36)  
(I complied with the traditions of Islam.)

*be dast kardan* (to get) :

tohfa'-ī *be dast kardam* pas rūy *be sarā-e qāzī āvar-dam* (*Ibid.* 128)

(I got a present and then started for the house of the Qāzī.)

*be kār dāstan* (to employ, to use) :

az moškelāt-e še'r-e tāzeyān ān ast ke loγāt-e šomūs va šorūd va alfāz-e vahšī-e nā ma'hūd *be kār dārand* (*Ibid.* 41)

(One of the problems of the Arabic verse is this that they employ unfamiliar words...)

*be kār bordan* (to use) :

ādam çūn xāstī ke *be havvā nazdik gardad* tahārat kardī va 'etr *be kār bordī* (*Sistān*, 40)

(When Adam wanted to go near Eve he purified himself and used scent.)

*be pāy kardan* (to appoint, to establish) :

pas īnjā xalīfatī *be pāy kard* va xod beraft (*Sistān*, 95)

(So he appointed a viceroy here and himself went away.)

= 'to excite, to rouse' :

dar gūš-e amīr afkandand ke aryāroq bad—gomān šode ast va bā γāzī benehāde ke šar *be pāy konand* (*Beihaqi*, 225)

(It was whispered to the Amir that Aryāroq is suspicious and he has conspired with Ghāzi to excite a mischief.)

*be dast dādan* (to make one arrested, captured) :

īn laškar rā çonānke man dīdam kār naxāhand kard va mārā *be dast xāhand dād* (*Beihaqi*, 615)

(As I see, this army will not work and will make us arrested.)

*be ham bar āmadan* (to be embroiled) :

tebā'-e nodamā *be hām bar āmad* va vaqthā mon-aγγaz šod ('Eqd, 63)

(The temperaments of the companions were embroiled making it quite irksome.)

*be bād dādan* (to lose, to dissipate) :

va sar-e rešte be bād namī deham (*Ma'āref*, 33)  
(I will not lose the thread.)

*az dast šodan* (to get out of control, to be lost) :

jehd bāyad kard tā doxtar-e xīs be 'abdollāh dehī pīš  
az ān ke *az dast bešavad* (*Sīstān*, 58)  
(You should make an effort to marry your daughter  
to 'Abdollah before she gets out of control.)

*az qaśm oftādan* (to fall in the regard of, to be disgraced) :

ja'far az caśm-e vei *beyoflād* va andar hīla-e koştan-e  
vei ištād (*Barāmeke*, 67)  
(As Ja'far fell in his regard, he became determined to  
kill him any how.)

*az hūś šodan* (to lose consciousness) :

begerīst gerīstanī saxt çonānke *az hūś besōd* (*Ibid.*  
20)  
(He wept so bitterly that he lost consciousness.)

*az pāy neśastan* (to sit idle) :

*az pāy fatādan* (to be weak and languid) :

dar talab *az pāy nabāyad neśast*  
bī sabab *az pāy nabāyad fatād* (*Maqāmāt*, 183)  
(Do not sit idle in the course of your mission.  
Do not be weak and languid without a reason.)

*az dast dādan* (to lose) :

in dūstān rā yekbāragī *az dast naxāhad dād* (*Al-*  
*Tavassol*, 292)  
(He will not lose all these friends in one instance.)

*az pāy dar āmadan* (to fall down, collapse) :

ān γolām torā tamkīn nakard va torā saqtaī oftād  
va *az pāy dar āmadī* (*Eqd*, 62)  
(As the slave did not show respect to you, you  
staggered and fell down.)

*az sar gereftan* (to resume, to take up again) :

bar qā'eda-e dīgar sālhā mo'ātāt-e kās-e monāza'at

va mojādabat-e lebās-e moqāra'at *az sar gereft-*  
*and ('Eqd, 46)*

(According to the custom of the previous years they  
 resumed drinking the cup of contention and  
 dragging the dress of war.)

*az rāh bordan* (to mislead) :

va mardomān rā bar maṣhab-e bātenī da'vet mī kard  
 va *az rāh bebord* (*Seyāsat Kh.* 162)

(He invited the people to the Bāteni (Ismā'ili) faith  
 and thus misled them.)

*az jāy šodan* (to be sorely troubled) :

nāmahā bestad va xarīte bāz kard va xāndan gereft  
 va nīk *az jāy besod* va sar mī jonbānīd (*Beihāqi*,  
 469).

(He took the letters and opened the scroll, and as he  
 started reading them, he was sorely troubled and  
 shook his head.)

*az kār šodan* (to be inactive or useless) :

jān dar xazāna-e īzad ast ta'ālā agar jān bemānad  
 nīm tan *az kār šavad* (*Ibid.* 597)

(The soul is kept in the divine treasure. If it  
 remains, half of it will become inactive.)

*az dast raftan* (to be lost, or missed) :

gol agarçe golāb šavad *az dast-e motasarref namī*  
*ravād* (*Ma'āref*, 104)

(The rose is not lost by its master even when it turns  
 into rose-water.)

*bar pāy xāstan* (to rise, to stand up) :

Hasan Soleimān *bar pāy xāst* (*Beihāqi*, 24)

(Hasan Soleimān stood up.)

*bar kār kardan* (to make ready, active) :

va manjanīqhā *bar kār kard* va harb āyāz kard  
 (*Sīstān*, 411)

(He made the ballista ready and started the battle.)

*bar kār gerestan* (to execute, act upon) :

aqvāl-e sād va ahkām-e nā—mo'tabar rā *bar kār nagīrad* (*Al-Tavassol*, 106)

(He should not act upon uncommon words and increditable orders.)

*bar qārār dāstān* (to confirm, to ratify) :

ān hodne ke bā īsān rafte ast *bar qarār mī dārad* (*Ibid.* 181)

(He ratifies the truce reached with them.)

*bar pāy kardan* (to set up, to fix) :

har kerā az kabūd tār va pūdī dar sar askandand be mātam-dārī-e ḍorrīya-e ādamaś *bar pāy kardand* (*Maqāmāt*, 94)

(Whosoever was given a blue dress, was set up to mourn for Adam's progeny.)

*bar pāy dāstān* (to support, to preserve) :

mā-īm ke asl-e īn qā'ede rā *bar pāy mī dārīm* (*Ibid.* 108)

(It is we who are supporting this rule.)

*dar bāqī kardan* (to complete) :

hesāb-e mavaddat-e ū *dar bāqī konad* (*Al-Tavassol*, 214)

(He should complete the account of his friendship.)

*dar bāqī šodan* (to be complete or over) :

farmūd ke ān dour gošāst va ān gazāf *dar bāqī šod* ('Eqd, 29)

(He said, "That time has passed away and that boasting is over".)

*dar meyān nehādan* (to put up for discussion) :

ahvāl-e 'azimat-e xīś bā vei *dar meyān nehādam* (*Ibid.* 98)

(I conferred with him about my determination.)

*dar sare-e çīzī šodan* (to resolve, to do something) :

tā āngāh ke çeyānī va pesaraś *dar sur-e īn kār šodānd* (*Beihāqi*, 263)

(Till Cheghāni and his son resolved to do this work.)

*dar tavaqqof dāstan* (to keep in abeyance) :

īn hadīθ *dar tavaqqof dārīd* (*Ibid.* 362)  
(Keep this thing in abeyance.)

*dast be dast kardan* (to join hands, to unite) :

va *dast be dast konand* tā in forsat jūyān rā bar an  
dāxte āyad (*Ibid.* 495)  
(You should join hands so that these opportunists  
are uprooted.)

*sar be dīvār āmadan* (to land in crisis) :

çūn pesar-e kākū rā *sar be dīvār āmad* va bedānest  
ke be jang mī bar nayāyad ‘oōrhā xvāst (*Ibid.*  
511)

(When the son of Kāku met with a crisis and realized  
that he would not win the war, he came forward  
with apology.)

5.1. The preposition is sometimes omitted from a verbal phrase making it almost synonymous with a compound verb. This trend is noticed even in the oldest Persian works, e.g.

*be faryād xāndan*

(to cry for help) :

*faryād xāndan*

gost tarsīdam ke agar begośāram nabādā ke xodāy  
ta‘ālā rā *be faryād xānad* va rostagārī yābad  
(*Bal’ami* P. 420)

(He said, “I was afraid that if I leave him he might  
cry to God for help and be released”.)

hamī bar xarūšid o *faryād xānd*  
jahān rā sarāsar su-è dād xānd (*Shāh-Nāme*, 47)  
(He cried and called for help and demanded justice  
from the entire world.)

*be faryād rasīdan*

(to come to rescue) :

*faryād rasīdan*

hamī gerīst va hamī gost elāhī *be faryād-e bī-gonāhān*  
ras (*Bal’ami* P. 1152)  
(He kept crying and praying to God to come to his  
rescue.)

gost yā ayyūb vaqt-e faryād rasīdan āmad (*Ibid.*  
329)  
(He said, "O Ayyūb, now it is time to come to  
rescue".)

The tendency to omit the preposition from a verbal phrase became more popular in later times and now it has become quite common in current Persian.

## v) Non-transitive Vrebs

6. A verb is either transitive or intransitive. The former transmits the effect of an act beyond the subject to the object, but the latter restricts the effect to the subject only. The transitive verb is either active or passive.

In Persian, there is a third kind of the verb which is apparently transitive and accepts an object but the object is, in fact, the subject or the agent.

Such verbs do not accept any personal ending and they are always used as 3rd person, singular. This object (or the subject) may be a noun or a personal pronoun or pronominal suffix :

vei rā xoš āmad (*Samak* IV, 286)  
(He was pleased.)

Here the pronoun *vei* (he) is an object because it is followed by *rā*, the object sign, but it is actually the subject because the effect of *xoš āmadan* is restricted to it and does not pass on to someone else. That is why such verbs are called Non-transitive (*Nāgosar*) because though they accept an object like the transitive verbs yet the effect of the act is limited to the subject.

The Non-transitive verb generally indicates an inner state and thus it may be called a stative verb. But here we shall discuss its grammatical structure only.

6,1. The Non-transitive verbs are always compound and are formed with such infinitives as *āmadan*, *būdan*, *śodan*, *gerefstan*, *bordan*, *zadan*, *dādan*, *kardan*.

6,2. The accusative pronoun can be either separate or affixed. Such pronoun (or noun, singular and plural) has different uses in Persian.

6,3. The object—a separate pronoun or a noun—is followed by *rā*. It generally precedes (or in poetry occasionally follows) the verb and does not come in between its two components.

### *Noun Object*

*amīr rā īn javābhā saxt xoš āmad* (*Beihagi*, 92)  
(The Amīr was extremely pleased with these replies.)

va īn *goum* rā saxt nā-xoš mī āmad vei rā dar ān  
daraje dīdān (*Ibid.* 139)

(And these people were extremely displeased to see  
him in that position.)

hazrat *xelāfat* rā šarm āmad (*Ibid.* 33)  
(The Caliph felt shame.)

*šeitān* rā rahmat āmad bar vei (*Mojmal*, 130)  
(The Satan felt compassion for him.)

va *śarābdār-e* malek rā yād āmad ke yūsuf dar  
zendān ta'bīr-e ū çe kard (*Ibid.* 195)

(The king's cup-bearer remembered how Yūsuf had  
interpreted his dream in the prison.)

hasad īyad hamī ze bas golhā

*āsmān* rā ze būstān har śab (*Farrokhi*, 14)

(The sky feels jealous every night to see so many  
flowers in the garden.)

çonānke *kasī* rā 'rā' goftan doşvār īyad (*Safestāni*, 36)  
(As some people find it difficult to say 'rā'.)

*seyāvaś* rā xaśm āmad (*Seyāsat* Kh. 134)

(Seyāvash felt angry.)

va 'arab rā saxt āmad ke farmūd bā mādar va xāhar  
gerd īyand (*Ibid.* Kh. 171)

(The Arabs found it hard to meet together with their  
mother and sister according to his words.)

*bahrām gūr* rā saxt 'ajab āmad (*Ibid.* Kh. 17)

(Bahrām Gūr was highly amazed.)

*mehmān* rā hadīθ-e ū xoś āmad (*Kalile G*, 272)

(The guest was pleased with his words.)

*ya'qūb* rā xoś āmad (*Zein*, 141)

(Ya'qūb was delighted.)

*malek* rā azīn javāb 'ajab āmad ('Eqd, 89)

(The king was amazed at this answer.)

*amīr esmā'il* rā īn soxan saxt āmad (*Ibid.* 56)

(Amīr Ismā'il felt constrained at his words.)

rahm āmad bar vei ān *ostād* rā

kard dar bāqī fan o bīdād rā (*Mathnavi*, 1126)

(The master took pity on him...)

rahm āmad mar *sotor* rā goft hīn...bar jeh o bar  
kardbān-e man neśīn (*Ibid.* 362)

(The camel took pity on him and said...)

xande āmad *sāh* rā goft ei keyā

āmadam bā tab'-e ān doxtar torā (*Ibid.* 1236)

(The king was moved to laughter and said.. )

*Separate Accusative Personal Pronoun :*

har çand *marā* az vei bad āyad (*Beihagi*, 179)  
(Though I dislike him...)

saxt xüb āyad īn dobeit *marā*  
ke śenīdam ze śāerī ostād (*Farrokhi*, 42)

(I like these two verses very much...)

īn ‘omr rā māhī ārzū kard (*Sajestāni*, 238)  
(He desired for this life for a month.)

ū rā hīlatī yād āmad (*Samak D*, IV, 126)  
(A trick came to his mind.)

vei rā saxt karāhīyat mī āmad (*Beihagi*, 658)  
(He was having great dislike.)

vohūś va toyür va sebā‘ dīd be yekjā jam’ śode, ū rā  
‘ajab āmad (*Sīstān*, 45)

(He was amazed to see birds, beasts and animals  
together.)

īshān rā azān nāxoś āyad (*Beihagi*, 67)  
(They dislike it.)

*marā* ke bol-fazlam do hekāyat-e nāder yād āmad  
(*Ibid.* 29)

(I, Bol-Fazl, remembered two rare stories.)

eshāq gūyad *marā* xaśm āmad (*Barāmeke*, 13)  
(Ishāq says, 'I became angry').

çün dabīr rā ān śenavāī ke vei rā az ān ekrāh āyad  
çe ommid dārad (*Ibid.* 48)

(When you tell the secretary something which dis-  
pleases him, then there is no hope.)

6.4. The affixed accusative personal pronoun or pronominal suffix generally comes in between the two parts of the verbs :

*kebt-e nādān bū-e nilūfar beyāft*

xüb-aś āmad sū-e nilūfar śetāft (*Rūdaki-Fors*, 35)  
(As the ignorant bee got the smell of the water-lily,  
it was pleased and rushed to the flower.)

*xanda-aś āmad çün soleimān ān bedid*

kaz śomā kei man talab kardam Əarīd (*Mathnavi*,  
654)

(Solomon laughed when he saw it...)

*xanda-aś gīrad azān yamhā-e xīś*

çün bebīnad mostaqqarr-o jā-e xīś (*Ibid.* 806)

(He laughed at his sorrows...)

*sā‘atī bidār bod gereft xābaś*

‘āseq-e deldāde rā xāb, ei śegeft (*Ibid.* 565)

(He was awake for a while and then he fell asleep. It  
is a wonder that a forlorn lover may sleep.)

*šarm-ām āmad gaštam az nāmat xajel  
varna āsān ast naqb-e mošt-e gel (Ibid. 901)*  
(I was ashamed and sorry for your name...)  
*xašmat amad ke man torā goftam  
ke torā ‘āseqam, xatā goftam (Jamāl, 417)*  
(You became angry when I said that I love you. Yes,  
I said something wrong.)  
*heifāš āmad ke be zaxmī jān dehad  
jān ze dast-e sedq-e ū āsān dehad (Mathnavi,  
1018)*  
(He felt pity that he would succumb to his wound...)  
*rahm-ešān āmad ke īn bas bīnavāst  
vaz majā‘at hālek-e marg o fanāst (ibid. 945)*  
(They felt compassion that he was so miserable...)

The pronominal suffix, sometimes, follows the verb :

*negah kardam in nazm sost āmadam  
soxanhāš nā tendorost āmadam (Shāh-Nāme,  
1545)*  
(As I studied this poem it seemed loose to me and  
the verses unsound.)  
*sekandar šenid ān pasand āmad-aś  
soxan-gūy rā farhamand āmad-aś (Ibid. 1785)*  
(When Alexander listened, it pleased him and the  
speaker seemed to be wise to him.)  
*xāb bordaś mory-e jāns az habs rast  
çang çangī rā rehā kard o bejast (Mathnāvi, 103)*  
(He fell asleep and the bird of his soul was freed out  
of its cage.)  
*xašm āmadəś o ham āngah goft, veik  
xvāst kürā bar kanad az dide keik (Rūdaki, 232)*  
(He became angry and then said, "Alas for you !...")  
*ān rūz ārzū āyadaś ke kāske...xāk gaštāmī (Majid II,  
541)*  
(On that day he would desire, 'O that I would have  
been dust !')  
*vīnam ‘ajab āyad ke çegūne baradaś xāb  
ān rā ke be*  
*kāk andar yek šīše šarāb ast (Menūchehri, 7)*  
(I wonder how he who has got a bottle of wine in  
his store, goes to sleep.)  
*ço dīd ānçonān jā-e mahrājshāh  
darīy āmadaś kān nadārad negāh (Garšasb, 183)*

(When he saw the position of King Mahrāj he regretted that he had no vision.)

6,5. When the Non-transitive verb follows an adverb or prepositional phrase, the accusative pronominal suffix may precede the verb :

motreb az gofta-e hāfez γazalī nāyż bexān  
tā begūyam ke ze ‘ahd-e tarabam yād āmad  
(Hāfez, 118)

(Let the singer sing a beautiful ghazal of Hāfez so that we may cry in the memory of the joyful period.)

in hadītam qe xoş āmad ke sahargah mīgost  
bar dar-e meikada’ī bā daf o nei tarsa’ī (ibid. 349)

(The words that a Christian was singing at dawn before the tavern gate, pleased me very much.)

dūšam ze bolbolī qe xoş āmad ke mī sorūd  
gol gūs pahn karde ze sāx-e daraxt-e xīs (ibid.  
197)

(Last night how the song of the nightingale pleased me.

In other words, it can be said that the object of a Non-transitive verb (whether it is a noun or a personal pronoun or pronominal suffix) is actually in the position of the subject, e.g.

śāh rā xoş āmad

(The king was pleased.)

śāh xoşnūd gaşt

xaşmat āmad

(You became angry.)

to xaşmgīn şodī

xoşam āmad

(I was pleased.)

man xoşnūd şodam

.6. A number of Non-transitive verbs are used in current Persian, some of which could not be traced in old works. The following Non-transitive compounds are formed with the Present of *būdan*. Their spoken form is written against each example :

sardam ast=sardame (It is cold for me.)

garmam ast=garmame (It is hot for me.)

saxtam ast=saxtame (It is hard for me.)

çe-at ast=çete (What has happened to you?)

<i>basam ast=basame</i>	(It is enough for me.)
<i>teşne-am ast=teşname</i>	(I am thirsty.)
<i>gorosne-am ast=gorosname</i>	(I am hungry.)

The following compounds are formed with the Past of *būdan*:

<i>sardam būd</i>	(It was cold for me.)
<i>garmam būd</i>	(It was hot for me.)
<i>saxtam būd</i>	(It was hard for me.)
<i>çet būd</i>	(What had happened to you?)
<i>basam būd</i>	(It was enough for me.)

The following compounds are formed with the Past of *şodan*:

<i>sardam şod</i>	(It became cold for me.)
<i>garmam şod</i>	(It became hot for me.)
<i>çeam şod</i>	(What has happened to me?)
<i>γosse-am şod</i>	(I became worried.)
<i>'āram şod</i>	(It was shameful for me.)
<i>teşne-am şod</i>	(I became thirsty.)
<i>gorosne-am şod</i>	(I became hungry.)

Compounds formed with *āmadan*:

<i>badam āmad</i>	(I was unhappy with...)
<i>xoşam āmad</i>	(I was happy...)
<i>dardam āmad</i>	(I was pained at...)
<i>heifám āmad</i>	(I regretted for...)
<i>yādam āmad</i>	(It came to my mind.)
<i>'āram āmad</i>	(I felt ashamed.)
<i>zürəm āmad</i>	(It was hard for me.)

Compounds formed with *gereftan*:

<i>xande-am gereft</i>	(I burst into laughter.)
<i>gerye-am gereft</i>	(I burst into tears.)
<i>dardam gereft</i>	(I felt pained.)
<i>γamam gereft</i>	(I was aggrieved.)
<i>xābam gereft</i>	(I felt sleepy.)
<i>lajam gereft</i>	(I felt grudge.)

Compounds formed with *bordan*:

<i>xābam bord</i>	(I fell asleep.)
<i>māt-am bord</i>	(I was struck dumb.)

Compounds formed with *zadan*:

<i>xoşkam zad</i>	(It made me transfixed.)
<i>māt-am zad</i>	(It made me stupified.)
<i>boht-am zad</i>	(It made me amazed.)

### vi) Historical Evolution of the Verb Structure

7. The south-western Pahlavi or Pārsīk has had all the three structures of the verb, simple, prefixed and compound :

The simple verb is formed from a verb root or a noun stem. The following infinitives, for example, belong to the former category : (verb-root)

<i>dāštan</i> (to keep).	<i>kardan</i> (to do).
<i>āvardan</i> (to bring).	<i>rasīdan</i> (to reach).
<i>bordan</i> (to take).	<i>estādan</i> (to stand).
<i>raftan</i> (to go).	<i>āmadan</i> (to arrive).
<i>māndan</i> (to remain).	

It is, however, very common in Pahlavi to form verbs from a noun stem, for which two methods are used :

7,1. én is added to the noun stem, and then it is suffixed with different terminations :

<i>āzār</i>	<i>āzréñ</i>	<i>āzāréñidān</i>	'to plunder, to destroy.'
<i>āfrīn</i>	<i>āfrīnén</i>	<i>āfrīnénidān</i>	'to pray'.
<i>āgāh</i>	<i>āgāhēñ</i>	<i>āgāhénidān</i>	'to inform'.
<i>āskār</i>	<i>āskārén</i>	<i>āskārénidān</i>	'to disclose'.
<i>hambsān</i>	<i>hambsānén</i>	<i>hambsānénidān</i>	'to oppose'.
<i>pайдāg</i>	<i>pайдāgén</i>	<i>pайдāgénidān</i>	'to show'.
<i>patyārag</i>	<i>patyāragén</i>	<i>patyāragénidān</i>	'to have an enemy.'
<i>pérōz</i>	<i>pérōzén</i>	<i>pérōzenidān</i>	'to make one victorious.'
<i>farjām</i>	<i>farjāmén</i>	<i>farjāménidān</i>	'to complete'.
<i>ravāg</i>	<i>ravāgén</i>	<i>ravāgénidān</i>	'to circulate'.
<i>roušan</i>	<i>ruašanén</i>	<i>raušanénidān</i>	'to light'.
<i>bém</i>	<i>bémén</i>	<i>béménidān</i>	'to frighten'.

7,2. The termination is added immediately after the noun stem without any intervening word :

<i>ayās</i>	<i>ayāsīdan</i> ,	'to remind'.
<i>kén</i>	<i>kénidān</i> ,	'to bear a grudge'. <sup>1</sup>

7, 3. The first method (7,1) was not adopted in Dari Persian although the method to make the transitive of an intransitive is somewhat similar to it. However, such transitive in Dari is formed not from a noun but from an intransitive verb, irrespective of the fact whether the latter is formed from a verb root or a noun stem.

The second method (7,2) of verb formation is very common in Dari Persian, and many simple verbs (infinitives) are formed from a noun stem, e.g.

1. The examples have been taken from *Afsāra-e Zardosht* edited by Mole and *Vāzhe-Nāma-e Minu-e Khād* edited by Dr Ahmad Tafazzoli. While transliterating the Pahlavi words, we have adopted the later pronunciation in order to make the examples uniform.

<i>āyāzīdan</i>	(to begin).
<i>būsīdan</i>	(to kiss).
<i>tūfīdan</i>	(to shout, to cry).
<i>tarsīdan</i>	(to fear).
<i>torṣīdan</i>	(to turn sour).
<i>tarakīdan</i>	(to crack, to burst).
<i>çarbīdan</i>	(to preponderate, to prevail over).
<i>çarxīdan</i>	(to rotate, to spin).
<i>xamīdan</i>	(to bend, to stoop).
<i>dōzīdan</i>	(to steal).
<i>ranjīdan</i>	(to be offended).
<i>sazīdan</i>	(to be worthy, to deserve).
<i>setīzīdan</i>	(to contend, to struggle).
<i>sepāsīdan</i>	(to thank).
<i>śāsīdan</i>	(to piss).
<i>śokūhīdan</i>	(to be grave, venerable).
<i>śūrīdan</i>	(to revolt, to grow mad).
<i>tapīdan</i>	(to palpitate, throb, beat).
<i>yarīvīdan</i>	(to clamour, to lament).
<i>ȝoltīdan</i>	(to roll, tumble).
<i>gandīdan</i>	(to rot, decay, etc).

Verbs formed from an Arabic root also belong to this category :

<i>raqsīdan</i>	(to dance).
<i>talabīdan</i>	(to search, to call).
<i>yāratīdan</i>	(to plunder).
<i>fahmīdan</i>	(to understand).
<i>balīdan</i>	(to swallow).
<i>tavāfīdan</i>	(to go round as of a holy place).
<i>xoufīdan</i>	(to fear).

The method of forming a verb from a noun stem was, however, discarded by the writers from the 7th century A.H. (thirteenth century A.D. onwards. Thus, we have *tarsīdan* (to fear) from *tars* but not *bīmīdan* from *bīm*. Or we had *torṣīdan* (to turn sour) from *torṣ* but not *talxīdan* from *talx* (bitter). In such cases, compound verbs were generally formed as *talx kardan* (to make bitter), *talx šodan* (to turn bitter) or *bīm dāštan* (to fear), *bīm dādan* (to frighten), etc.

Tarzi Afshār, a poet of the Safavi period, formed many new verbs from nouns and adjectives and used them in his verses. But his efforts were not taken as serious by the linguists and his innovations were restricted to humorous literature.

7.4. Prefixed verbs were popularly used in Pahlavi (Pārsīk) in order to convey some minute or subtle sense, e.g.

<i>frāz rasīdan</i>	(to reach, to near).
<i>abar rasīdan</i>	(to reach the destination).
<i>frāz āmadan</i>	(to approach, to reach).
<i>andar āmadan</i>	(to come in).
<i>frāz raftan</i>	(to go forward, to proceed).
<i>frōd šudan</i>	(to set down as the sun).
<i>andar šudan</i>	(to enter, to get into).
<i>abáz māndan</i>	(to stop, to come to a standstill).
<i>abáz vaštan</i>	(to return).

7, 5. Compound verbs are also seen in Pahlavi works, e.g.

<i>ō yād kardan</i>	(to remember).
<i>bahr kardan</i>	(to distribute, divide).
<i>paimān kardan</i>	(to make a vow).
<i>paivand kardan</i>	(to join).
<i>pahréz kardan</i>	(to abstain).
<i>framān burdan</i>	(to obey).
<i>ranj burdan</i>	(to suffer).

But the number of such compound verbs in Pahlavi is not large and the verbs that form them are also limited. The lack of compound verbs in the Middle Iranian languages was compensated by the prefixed verbs or verbs formed from a noun stem or an adjective.

7, 6. In the Pahlavi texts we also come across the verbal phrases, e.g.

<i>andar yād dāštan</i>	'to keep in mind'.
<i>ō padāgih āvardan</i>	'to manifest'.
<i>ō faryād rasīdan</i>	'to come to rescue'.
<i>padkār dāštan</i>	'to use'.
<i>pad ravāg dāštan</i>	'to execute'.
<i>andar kār dāštan</i>	'to employ'.
<i>ō xvīš kardan</i>	'to master'.
<i>pad negarešn dāštan</i>	(to watch, to guard) <sup>1</sup> .

7, 7. In the first period of Dari Persian (up to the early years of the seventh century A.H.) thirteenth century A.D.) prefixed verbs were still used to convey the various delicate meanings but from the same period compound verbs, formed from Arabic nouns and adjectives, also found their way to the Persian texts with the result that in the same work we come across both the prefixed and the compound verbs to convey the same meaning :

*bāz kardan*  
(to dismiss, to remove from office).

*ma zūl kardan*

1. The examples have been taken from the aforesaid two sources.

bar dar-e sarāy monādī kardand ke malek  
 bahrām rāst roušan rā az kār bāz kārd  
 (Seyāsat Kh. 18).

(It was proclaimed at the gate of the palace that  
 King Bahrām dismissed Rāst Roushan from  
 his office.)

befarmāyam tā monādī konand ke mā rāst roušan  
 rā (ma'zūl kārdīm Ibid. p. 18).

(We order to proclaim that we have dismissed Rāst  
 Roushan).

*bar gozīdan*

(to select, to choose):

*exteyār kardan*

nou'-e ensān rā az jomla-e īn tabqe *bar gozīd* (Al-Tavassol, 1).

(He selected the human beings out of all these  
 species).

har jam'i az kottāb-e rūzgār va arbāb-e san'at tarīqī  
 az ān jomle *exteyār karde and* (Ibid. 9).

(Each group has chosen a way among the scholars  
 and artisans.)

*dar paðiroftan*

(to accept) :

*qabūl kardan*

agar xāqān bande rā be parastāri *dar paðirand*  
 (Seyāsat Kh. 110).

(If the emperor accepts this servant as his slave . )

sabab çīst ke soxan-e torā *qabūl kard* (Ibid. 39)

(Why did he accept your words ?)

*farāz āmadan*

(to be gained) :

*hāsel šodan*

çe pasandide va çe nāpasandide bar ānce bande rā...  
*fāraz āmad āmad yād karde šod* (Ibid. 7).

(What ever was gained by this servant, agreeable or  
 disagreeable, was remembered.)

va 0avāb -e ān masāleh bedān jahān ūrā *hāsel šavad*  
 (Ibid. 6)

(And the reward of those good deeds will be gained  
 by him in that world.)

*bāz gaštan*

(to return) :

*morāja'at kardan*

pas šeix az īn jāy *bāz gašt* va be xānaqāh-e ostād bū  
ahmad .. forūd āmad (*Asrār*, 66)

(So the Sheikh returned from that place and alighted  
at the monastery of Master Bū Ahmad.)

mā az xedmat-e šeix *morāja'at kardīm* (*Ibid.* 188)  
(We returned from the presence of the Sheikh.)

*dar goštāstan*

(to pardon, to forgive) :

*'afv kardan*

mā toube kardīm va besyār esteγfār kardīm tā az  
mā *dar goštāstand* (*Ibid.* 49)

(We repented and asked for forgiveness till we were  
pardoned.)

az karam va fazl taqsīr dar haqq-e xod 'afv konad  
(*'ibid.* 301)

(He should forgive the shortcoming out of kindness  
and generosity.)

*dar xvāstan*

(to request, to entreat) :

*eltemās kardan*

marā še'rī dar xāter āmad ke az vei *dar xvāham* tā  
revāyat konad (*Safar*, 2)

(A poem came to my mind which I would request  
him to recite.)

va *eltemās kardam* ke marā azīn şahr be mouza'i  
rasānad ke eiman bāşad (*Ibid.* 136)

(I requested him to take me to a safe place.)

*bar gozīdan*

(to select) :

*exteyār kardan*

šeix goft çahār soxan az çahār ketāb-e xodāy-e ta-  
'älā *bar gozīdand* (*Asrār*, 299)

(The Sheikh said that four sayings were selected  
from the four books of God.)

dīgar ān ke tāq *exteyār kardan* oulātar (*Ibid.* 229)  
(Secondly it is better to select the odd.)

*dar xvāstan*  
(to entreat, to pray) :  
*ested'ā kardan*

az xodāy-e 'azz va jall *dar xvāstīm* ke yā rab mā rā  
az xāndān-e īn ketābhā gośādagī mī nabāšad  
dar bāten (*Ibid.* 48)

(We prayed to God that the reading of these books  
did not elevate our soul.)

xvāje 'enān-e śeix begereft va az vei *ested'ā kard* ke  
mī bāyad ke śeix be sarāy-e man dar āyad  
(*Ibid.* 251)

(The Khvāje stopped the Sheikh and entreated him  
to come to his house.)

*bāz dāstan*  
(to prevent, to prohibit) :  
*man' kardan*

agar zolmī mī ravad be amīr-e 'ādel-e šahr bar bāyad  
dāst tā *bāz dārad* (*Maqāmāt*, 78)

(In case of injustice, the city should be entrusted to  
a just governor so that he may prevent it.)

hakīm-e 'allām az śorb-e modām va samā'-e harām  
*man'nakonad* (*Ibid.* 106)

(The wise physician should not prohibit drinking  
wine and listening to the unlawful song.)

7,8. The prefixed verbs lost their popularity from the seventh century A.H. (thirteenth century A.D.) onwards giving way to compound verbs. In current Persian, only a few prefixed verbs are used and they, too, are treated as simple verbs because the prefixes seem to have lost their special sense.

Some of the verb prefixes have become totally obsolete. For instance, the prefix *farāz* is no longer used in modern writing and conversation. Similarly, *bāz* is now used as an adverb and not as a prefix. *Bāz āmad* now means 'He came again' and not 'He returned', as in the previous usage.

*Andar* has also become obsolete. Even its comparatively modern form *dar* meaning 'in, inside', is not very common. In several cases *dar* means 'out' instead of 'in'.

*dar āmad* meant 'came in, entered' in the sixth and seventh centuries A.H. (twelfth and thirteenth c.A.D.) but now it means 'came out'.

*dar kard* previously meant 'entered, penetrated,' but now it means 'took out'. *dar raft* in earlier times meant 'entered, went in', but now it means 'went out, ran off'.

*Forūd* is no longer used in current Persian except very rarely in literary

writing. Its other form *forū* is still used with some verbs, e.g.

<i>forū raft</i>	(went down).
<i>forū kard</i>	(thrust, drove in).
<i>forū dād</i>	(gave in).
<i>forū nešast</i>	(subsided, sank).

*Bar* formed a number of prefixed verbs such as :

<i>bar āmadañ</i>	'to rise'.
<i>bar šodan</i>	'to go up'.
<i>bar kardañ</i>	'to take upward'.
<i>bar nešastan</i>	'to mount, to ride.'

but now it has fallen from use and it is used only with a few verbs like *bar dāštan* (to take up, off), *bar jastan* (to jump). In colloquial Persian *bar* is generally changed with *var* such as *var dāštan* and *var jastan*. *Bar xāstan* (go, get up) is used only in writing and so its *bar* does not change with *var*. Its colloquial equivalent is *pā šodan* (to get up).

7. 9. In current Persian compound verbs have replaced most of the simple and prefixed verbs rendering many of them obsolete. Below is given a list of the compound verbs used in place of simple verbs :

<i>āxtan</i>	
<i>boland kardañ</i>	
<i>darāz kardañ</i>	(to raise, to draw).
<i>āgandan</i>	
<i>por kardañ</i>	(to fill).
<i>āmīxtam</i>	
<i>maxlüt kardañ</i>	(to mix, to mingle).
<i>mamzūj kardañ</i>	
<i>āsūdan</i>	
<i>esterāhat kardañ</i>	(to rest).
<i>ayaštān</i>	
<i>xīs kardañ</i>	(to soak).
<i>ālūdan</i>	
<i>ālūde kardañ</i>	(to pollute, to defile).
<i>āčālidan</i>	
<i>tahrīk kardañ</i>	(to excite, to rouse).
<i>alfaxtan</i>	
<i>jam* kardañ</i>	(to collect, to amass).
<i>tūde kardañ</i>	

<i>anbāštan</i>	(to store).
<i>afrūxtan</i>	(to light up).
<i>andūdan</i>	(to plaster, to coat).
<i>affordan</i>	(to freeze, to be depressed).
<i>yax zadan</i>	
<i>sard šodan</i>	
<i>oubāštan</i>	(to swallow).
<i>bal' kardan</i>	
<i>gosastan</i>	(to break, to tear).
<i>pāre kardan</i>	
<i>gošādan</i>	(to open, to conquer).
<i>bāz kardan</i>	
<i>fath kardan</i>	
<i>gomāštan</i>	(to appoint, to commission).
<i>māmūr kardan</i>	
<i>gorīxtan</i>	(to run away).
<i>farār kardan</i>	
<i>gervīdan</i>	(to believe in, to be inclined).
<i>īnān āvardan</i>	
<i>māyel šodan</i>	
<i>godāxtan</i>	(to melt).
<i>đoub šodan</i>	
<i>āb šodan</i>	
<i>kāstan</i>	(to decrease, to diminish).
<i>kam šodan</i>	
<i>šekīftan</i>	(to bear, to have patience).
<i>tahammol kardan</i>	
<i>sabr kardan</i>	

<i>şetäftan</i>	
<i>şetäb kardan</i>	(to make haste, to hurry up).
<i>'ajale kardan</i>	
<i>şäyestan</i>	
<i>şäyeste büdan</i>	(to deserve, to be worthy of).
<i>mostaheq büdan</i>	
<i>setadan</i>	
<i>pas gereftan</i>	(to take back).
<i>satordan</i>	
<i>päk kardan</i>	(to erase, to shave).
<i>rastan</i>	
<i>xaläs şodan</i>	(to get rid of, to be delivered).
<i>doründan</i>	
<i>derou kardan</i>	(to reap, to harvest).
<i>xalidan</i>	
<i>forū rafstan</i>	(to prick in).
<i>besündan</i>	
<i>lamş kardan</i>	(to touch).
<i>bıxtan</i>	
<i>alak kardan</i>	(to sift).
<i>beyüsïdan</i>	
<i>montazer büdan</i>	(to hope, to expect).
<i>motavaqqe' büdan</i>	

Many other simple verbs have also become totally obsolete and they have been replaced by a compound verb or verbal phrase, e.g.

<i>tüfidan</i>	(to cry aloud, to hope). /
<i>tüxtan</i>	(to pay, to return). /
<i>täsïdan</i>	(to be sad or afflicted).
<i>täftan</i>	(to burn, be hot).
<i>tafsïdan</i>	(to grow worn).
<i>navardidän</i>	(to fold, to travel).
<i>neyüsïdan</i>	(to listen).
<i>varzidän</i>	(to acquire and cultivate a habit).
<i>näsïdan</i>	(to be born with a bad disposition).
<i>pälüdan</i>	(to purify).

<i>pūñdan</i>	(to search).
<i>pīrāstan</i>	(to adorn).
<i>damīdan</i>	(to blow).
<i>sereštan</i>	(to mix, to knead).
<i>šekardan</i>	(to hunt, to catch).
<i>yonūdan</i>	(to slumber).
<i>farsūdan</i>	(to rub, to be worn).
<i>fatālīdan</i>	(to tear up, to break away).
<i>gazīdan</i>	(to bite).
<i>yāzīdan</i>	(to yawn).
<i>yārastan</i>	(to be able).
<i>çamīdan</i>	(to walk gracefully).

## APPENDIX I

### Common Simple Verbs (Mentioned in this Volume or not)

- ārāstan<sup>1</sup> (to adorn, decorate, embellish, to set in order).  
ārāmīdan (to rest; to be at peace or ease; to repose, sleep; to cause to be at rest, to be quiet).  
āzordan (to injure, molest, harass, disturb, vex, trouble, afflict; to rebuke, reprove, reproach; to disgust, offend, aggravate).  
āzmūdan (to try, prove, experiment).  
āsūdan (to rest, to be satisfied, refreshed, regaled; to die, to quiet, pacify, silence; to lose moisture; to dry).  
āsāmīdan (to drink, to sip).  
āšofstan (to agitate, to disturb, or be disturbed; to become foolish, distracted, confounded, enamoured, insane, amazed, astonished, thunderstruck, wretched, miserable; to change, alter).  
āyāzīdan (to begin, to design, to will; to engage in combat).  
āyāštan (to moisten; to be moist, to cut, hash or mince; to defile).  
āfarīdan (to create).  
āgandan (to fill, stuff, cram).  
ālūdan (to stain, pollute, contaminate, defile; to anoint, to be polluted, defiled).  
āmadan (to come, to arrive; to exist, to be found; to become).  
āmorzīdan (to forgive, absolve).  
āmūxtan (to learn, to teach).  
āmīxtan (to mix, mingle, to be inter-mixed).  
āvardan (to fetch, to bring, adduce; to relate; to cause or produce).  
āvīxtan (to hang, suspend).  
āhīxtan (to draw (a sword); to educate; to intend; to hang, suspend).

1. *Vide Persian-English Dictionary, F. Steingass.*

- arzīdan* (to suit, become, to be worthy).  
*ostādan* (to fall; to befall, happen, to submit, to perish, be ruined; to be distant).  
*afrāštan* (to exalt, extol, raise).  
*afrūxtan* (to inflame, set on fire; to kindle, to blaze, to flame, to polish).  
*afzūdan* (to add; to increase, to be increased, multiply, abound, overflow, remain over).  
*afsordan* (to freeze, congeal; to grow faint, feeble, dejected; to flag, wither).  
*afšāndan* (to disperse, scatter, strew, to diffuse, sprinkle, shed).  
*afgandan* (to throw, to cast away, up, off, or down; to contend for equality; to subtract).  
*anbāštan* (to fill, to supply; to sprinkle, dilute; to lay in ruins).  
*anjāmīdan* (to come to an end, be finished; to end, ensue; to finish, accomplish).  
*andāxtan* (to throw, cast, dart, shoot, lance, hurl; to shake, drive about; to eject, to inject, to force away; to rush; to disperse, scatter, strew, diffuse; to do, make).  
*andūxtan* (to acquire, collect; to pay a debt).  
*andūdan* (to incrustate, plaster, cover over, anoint, smear; to gild, plate, wash over; to twist).  
*andiśīdan* (to consider, meditate).  
*angāštan* (to think, consider, suppose, opine, imagine, fancy).  
*angīxtan* (to excite, rouse; to instigate, provoke; to raise, to create, produce, make; to extract; to publish, to put to a distance).  
*oubāštan* (to fill, to throw away, to devour, swallow).  
*īstādan* (to stand, stop, stay, remain, tarry, wait for).

## B

- bāxtan* (to play, to lose at play, to give, to bestow).  
*bārīdan* (to rain).  
*bāftan* (to weave, interwine, plait, twist).  
*bālīdan* (to grow, to wax great).  
*bāyestan* (to be necessary or requisite).  
*baxšūdan* (to give, grant, bestow; to forgive) *baxsīdan* (to pardon, forgive, spare).

*brāzīdan* (to join, unite; to decorate; to render good, beautiful; to despatch, to finish).

*bordan* (to carry, bear, bring, lead, conduct, transfer, transport, to take, assume, carry off, draw, remove, abstract, take away; to take to wife, to marry; to gain at play; to throw away, lose, lower (dignity); to go, run, fly; to obey, execute).

*borīdan* (to cut, to desert, to run away).

*bastan* (to bind, shut, close up; to contract, get, acquire, incur; to congeal, coagulate, clot; to copulate; to form seed-buds, to fructify).

*besūdan* (to handle, feel, touch, seize, rub; to bore, to repel, thrust back; to throw from the hands; to abolish, erase, remove; to swallow, engulf; to mix, mingle).

*besijīdan* (to arm; to prepare for; to finish, to complete, to manage, to intend).

*bal'īdan* (to swallow, to devour).

*būdan* (to be; to become; to exist).

*būsīdan* (to kiss).

*būyīdan* (to smell, scent, diffuse perfume, to have a smell, to smell at, to snuff up).

*bīxtan* (to sift; to enslave; to render impotent, deprive of motion, to become weak).

## P

*pāśīdan* (to sprinkle, scatter; to be sprinkled or scattered; to be filled).

*pāhūdan* (to strain, squeeze, press, drain, filter, purify; to become pure; to increase, to be large, to escape).

*poxtan* (to boil, cook, make ready; to concoct; to ripen, to be cooked; to render well disposed towards, canvass for, gain for one's interests).

*paśīroftan* (to accept, receive, take in good part, approve of, assent to, admit; to answer for, become surety; to consult what is just and right).

*parākandan* (to disperse, dissipate, scatter; to send everywhere, to disband (an army)).

*pārdāxtan* (to finish, complete, accomplish; to polish, furbish, adorn, bring to perfection; to clean, clear, free; to agree with, to accomodate oneself, to be satisfied, to be busily and attentively engaged;

to attempt, care about; to employ, devote, concentrate; to excite, to set out; to raise, take up, remove; to prepare, arrange; to evacuate, abandon, leave; to come to an end, to be completed; to take, rob, seize; to sing).

*parastīdan* (to worship; adorn, pray; to serve).

*porsīdan* (to ask, inquire).

*parvardan* (to nourish, foster, educate; to worship; to make up; to dispense (medicine); to pickle, to preserve),

*parīdan* (to fly in the air, to flutter, to throb, to jump).

*pazhmordan* (to wither, fade, flag, faint, become lean, emaciated, pale; to be sad and melancholy; to die).

*pezhūhīdan* (to examine, inquire, to investigate).

*pasandīdan* (to approve, be content; to please, to be agreeable).

*palāsīdan* (to become coarse, worn; to wither).

*pelkīdan* (to scratch along, to hang around).

*panāhīdan* (to fly, take refuge; to consult safety, take care of oneself, to be defeated).

*pendāstan* (to think, imagine, consider, understand, presume, to be proud).

*pūsīdan* (to rot, corrupt, spoil, wither; to become putrid).

*pūsīdan* (to cover, conceal, clothe; to dress, to wear clothes, to shut).

*pūyīdan* (to run to and fro, to trot; to examine, research).

*pīçīdan* (to twist, distort, bend, involve, wreath, or coil as a serpent, wind in a serpentine form, surround, envelop, involve; to twist a bit of camel's nerve or bow-string round the end of an arrow; to screw, wreath, make intricate; to assemble; to disobey, rebel; to wound; to divulge, to be confused).

*pīrāstan* (to adorn, decorate, ornament, embellish (especially by cutting, clipping, or taking away); to prune, clip, trim; to diminish, to tan).

*peimūdan* (to measure, to pass over, traverse).

*peivastan* (to join, fasten, tie, bind, connect, attach; to graft a tree).

## T

*tāxtan* (to hasten, walk fast, run; to rush upon, to assault; to pursue, hunt, chase, to urge, force, put to the gallop; to twist, spin; to bend, render curved or convex; to break out in an orbicular tumour upon the body; to contend, dispute, or wager; to bore; to spread, diffuse, pour out, pour in).

*tāftan* (to set on fire, burn, inflame, scorch, heat; to be warm, hot; to shine, sparkle, glitter, dazzle, send forth rays; to twist; to bend; to crook, to render convex; to curl hair; to turn away; to turn away the face, to decline; to be disturbed and vexed; to sigh; to bear; to be able).

*tapīdan* (to be in great agitation; to grow hot; to totter, leap, or spring; to stumble; to palpitate, be restless, uneasy; to lay a snare).

*trāśidan* (to shave, scrape, erase, conceal to smooth; to cut, hew; to make a pen).

*trāvīdan* (to drop, distil, flow, exude, trickle, ooze).

*tarsīdan* (to fear, dread, apprehend, conceive, fancy, imagine).

*torsīdan* (to turn sour; to ferment).

*tarakīdan* (to cleave, to crack; to explode, to burst).

*takāndan, takānīdan* (to shake, to move, to brush off).

*tanīdan* (to twist, weave, spin, involve; to deceive, to effect, to be silent, to be twisted).

*tavānestan* (to be powerful, able, equal to, to get the mastery).

## J

*jastan* (to jump, leap, bound, spring forward; to assail; to rise or blow; to palpitate or beat).

*jostan* (to search, seek, enquire, ask for, examine, investigate; to heap up, accumulate; to find, acquire).

*jonbīdan* (to move, stir, shake, vibrate, swing, to beat or throb).

*jangīdan* (to war, fight).

*jūśīdan* (to boil, to shoot forth).

*javidan* (to chew, gnew, to masticate).

*jahīdan* (to leap, spring, gallop, to be stimulated; to recreate, to drop, to grow cold, to blow).

## C

- çāpiðan* (to overrun, to invade, to plunder).  
*çāyîðan* (to catch cold, to cool, to take a chill).  
*çarbîðan* (to prevail, to be victorious; to dip, preponderate; to abound).  
*çâšîðan* (to adhere, stick, to be inclined, to be affixed to the ground, to grasp).  
*çâšîðan* (to taste, to experience, to expose oneself to).  
*çakîðan* (to drop, distil, trickle; to suspect, to meet accidentally).  
*çelândan, celânîðan* (to squeeze, to press).  
*çamîðan* (to walk proudly; to twist, turn, bend; curb; to incline; to drink wine).  
*çîðan* (to gather, collect; to select, pick, choose; to imbibe; to swallow; to pluck; to spread a carpet; to ascend).

## X

- xârîðan* (to scratch, itch, to curry (horse); to provoke, irritate).  
*xâstan* (to rise, arise, get up; to excite, to set out).  
*xâyîðan* (to chew, gnaw; to eat).  
*xarâsîðan* (to scratch, lacerate, irritate; to shave, smoothe; to graze, touch slightly, brush).  
*xarâmîðan* (to walk gracefully, to strut).  
*xarušîðan* (to cry aloud, shout).  
*xarîðan* (to buy, purchase).  
*xazîðan* (to creep, to slide around the ground on one's hands).  
*xastan* (to wound, pierce ; to prick, to be disposed, sick, ill; to be wounded, broken, split; to make an attack, to cut in pieces; to fear).  
*xošîðan* (to dry up).  
*xalîðan* (to prick, to pierce into the flesh, to sting, to sew).  
*xâmîðan* (to be crooked, to limp).  
*xvâbîðan* (to sleep, to lie down; to kneel, to remain, to stay).  
*xvâsîðan* (to desire, wish, demand, require, need, petition, beg, pray; to will; to want; to wed; to intend, to mean).  
*xordan* (to eat, to drink; to hit, to nip, to strike; to devour, destroy; to take; to grate, to mince; to break; to suffer).  
*xoufîðan* (to fear).

*xisidān* (to become wet, to soak, to be macerated).

*D*

*dādan* (to give, to command).

*dāstan* (to have, to hold, to possess, to profess, maintain; to consider).

*dānestan* (to know, to be able to, to acknowledge; to consider, regard; to command, govern, fill a place).

*draxšidān* (to shine, to flash).

*deravīdan* (to reap, harvest).

*darūdan* (to tear, rend, lacerate, to cut out; to lay open; to subtract, to be loosed, to be torn).

*dozidān* (to steal, to rob).

*damidān* (to blow (with the breath), to breathe, to fill oneself with wind; to blossom; to appear (as the dawn); to boast).

*dūxtan* (to sew; to pay, perform; to gain, acquire, collect; to fix, fasten; to milk, to plaster).

*dūšidān* (to milk).

*dovidān* (to run; to make haste; to serve; to flow, to spring up, be carried high).

*didān* (to see, look, observe; to perceive, feel; to expect, hope for; to visit).

*R*

*rabūdan* (to rob, seize, carry off; to withdraw from sight).

*raxšidān* (to shine, flash; to boast).

*rasidān* (to arrive, attain, to be accomplished, perfected; to ripen, mature; to be crooked; to rub).

*rostan* (to grow, come forth, appear).

*rastan* (to be liberated, to escape, to let go).

*restan* (to spin, to twist).

*raftan* (to walk, go, proceed, depart, pass along, travel, to elapse, glide by; to arise; to go to do a thing; to loose one's senses, to die; to be extinguished).

*roftan, rūftan* (to sweep, to wipe, to rub).

*raqsīdan* (to dance).

*ramidān* (to be afraid, terrified, to be disturbed, to fly in terror; to shun, to frighten).

*ranjīdan* (to be sad, melancholy, vexed, to fret, to be angry; to carve, engrave).

*rāndīdan* (to polish, smoothe; to scrape, grate, plane; to walk pompously; to grow).

*rūyidān* (to grow, increase).

*rīxtān* (to pour, infuse, defuse, to cast, melt; to scatter, disperse, break into pieces; to flow; to fall; to drop; to throw oneself down).

*rīdān* (to ease nature, to stool).

## Z

*zārīdan* (to grown, cry, to afflict, vex).

*zāyīdan* (to give birth, to originate, to come forth).

*zādān* (to strike, beat, dash against, clap; to kill, to shoot, fire off, discharge; to touch; to sound, to play on an instrument; to verge, tend, inclined; to forge, to accentuate; to lie with, to eat).

*zedūdān* (to polish, clean, furnish; to wipe; to pluck, gather).

*zīstān* (to live, to survive).

## S

*sāxtān* (to make, form, fashion, prepare, perform, build, manufacture; to invent, to feign, to compose, to adapt, to adjust, to polish, to be content, to be managed; to suit, to agree with).

*sepordān* (to entrust, consign, deposit with; to betray; to supply; to strengthen; to sit solitary, to lay up, to humble, content, resign; to trample).

*sepūxtān* (to prick, pierce, thrust, poke; to draw forth; to tear out, to throw down).

*setordān* (to shave, to scrape, pull out hairs; to erase, to abolish, cut off).

*setādān* (to take, seize, carry off).

*setūdān* (to praise).

*setīzīdān* (to contend, compete, go to law, to be obstinate, to injure, to oppress; to quarrel).

*sorūdān* (to sing).

*sereštān* (to mix, knead; to create, form into shape).

*sorīdān* (to slide, or glide).

*sazīdān* (to be worthy, suit, become).

*softān* (to bore, perforate, pierce, drill).

*segālīdān* (to think, to speak, deceive; to warble, to sing).

*sanjīdān* (to weigh)

*sūxtān* (to burn; to be inflamed, to set on fire, to blast).

*sūdan* (to rub, wear, tear, grind, consume, break; to dissolve; to handle, stroke; to anoint, besmear, transfix).

## S

*śāśidan* (to piss).

*śayestau* (to become, to be worthy; to assist, to be necessary).

*śetāftan* (to make haste).

*śodan* (to be, to become; to go, depart, migrate; to transfer, transport; to remove, deface, erase).

*śostan* (to wash).

*śekāftan* (to split, break, tear, destroy; to mediate).

*śekastan* (to break; to defea to be rough; to torture, to disturb, to be disturbed; to eat; to be broken; to fold, bend, to suppress; to restrain).

*śekofstan* (to open, to blossom).

*śekifstan* (to wonder, to be patient).

*śegeftan* (to have patience, to be amazed).

*śemordan* (to reckon, compute, count).

*śenāxtan* (to know, acknowledge, distinguish, recognise, define, describe).

*śanīdan* (to hear, listen; to obey; to make an assault; to smell, to perceive),

*śürīdan* (to be disturbed, perplexed; to grow mad, to play the fool; to wash).

## T

*talabīdan* (to call, to summon).

*toufīdan* (to go around, to visit).

## Y

*γaratīdan* (to plunder, ravage, to be plundered).

*γorrīdan* (to thunder, roar; to cry aloud; to yawn, to stretch).

*γaltīdan* (to roll, to wallow).

*γonūdan* (to slumber, sleep, doze, rest, repose; to faint).

## F

*fereftādan* (to send).

*farsūdan* (to rub, scrub, wear, tear, consume, diminish, to be worn, torn, old, to rot; to kick, strike, shake; to torment, persecute; to press, urge, compell, to expose oneself to danger, to be

*rāndīdan* (to polish, smoothe; to scrape, grate, plane; to walk pompously; to grow).

*rūyīdan* (to grow, increase).

*rūxtan* (to pour, infuse, defuse, to cast, melt; to scatter, disperse, break into pieces; to flow; to fall; to drop; to throw oneself down).

*rīdan* (to ease nature, to stool).

## Z

*zārīdan* (to grown, cry, to afflict, vex).

*zāyīdan* (to give birth, to originate, to come forth).

*zadan* (to strike, beat, dash against, clap; to kill, to shoot, fire off, discharge; to touch; to sound, to play on an instrument; to verge, tend, inclined; to forge, to accentuate; to lie with, to eat).

*zedūdan* (to polish, clean, furnish; to wipe; to pluck, gather).

*zīstan* (to live, to survive).

## S

*sāxtan* (to make, form, fashion, prepare, perform, build, manufacture; to invent, to feign, to compose, to adapt, to adjust, to polish, to be content, to be managed; to suit, to agree with).

*sepordan* (to entrust, consign, deposit with; to betray; to supply; to strengthen; to sit solitary, to lay up, to humble, content, resign; to trample).

*sepūxtan* (to prick, pierce, thrust, poke; to draw forth; to tear out, to throw down).

*setordan* (to shave, to scrape, pull out hairs; to erase, to abolish, cut off).

*setādan* (to take, seize, carry off).

*setīdan* (to praise).

*setīzīdan* (to contend, compete, go to law, to be obstinate, to injure, to oppress; to quarrel).

*sorūdan* (to sing).

*sereštan* (to mix, knead; to create, form into shape).

*sorīdan* (to slide, or glide).

*sazīdan* (to be worthy, suit, become).

*softan* (to bore, perforate, pierce, drill).

*segālīdan* (to think, to speak, deceive; to warble, to sing).

*sanjīdan* (to weigh)

*sūxtan* (to burn; to be inflamed, to set on fire, to blast).

*sūdan* (to rub, wear, tear, grind, consume, break; to dissolve; to handle, stroke; to anoint, besmear, transfix).

## S

*śāśidān* (to piss).

*śāyestāu* (to become, to be worthy; to assist, to be necessary).

*śetāftān* (to make haste).

*śodān* (to be, to become; to go, depart, migrate; to transfer, transport; to remove, deface, erase).

*śostān* (to wash).

*śekāftān* (to split, break, tear, destroy; to mediate).

*śekastān* (to break; to defeat to be rough; to torture, to disturb, to be disturbed; to eat; to be broken; to fold, bend, to suppress; to restrain).

*śekoftān* (to open, to blossom).

*śekiftān* (to wonder, to be patient).

*śegeftān* (to have patience, to be amazed).

*śemordān* (to reckon, compute, count).

*śenāxtān* (to know, acknowledge, distinguish, recognise, define, describe).

*śamīdān* (to hear, listen; to obey; to make an assault; to smell, to perceive),

*śūrīdān* (to be disturbed, perplexed; to grow mad, to play the fool; to wash).

## T

*talabīdān* (to call, to summon).

*toufīdān* (to go around, to visit).

## Y

*γaratīdān* (to plunder, ravage, to be plundered).

*γorrīdān* (to thunder, roar; to cry aloud; to yawn, to stretch).

*γaltīdān* (to roll, to wallow).

*γonūdān* (to slumber, sleep, doze, rest, repose; to faint).

## F

*fereſtādān* (to send).

*farsūdān* (to rub, scrub, wear, tear, consume, diminish, to be worn, torn, old, to rot; to kick, strike, shake; to torment, persecute; to press, urge, compell, to expose oneself to danger, to be

fatigued; to detest, to annoy, to repent, to congeal).  
*farmūdan* (to command, order, to favour, to make, to do).  
*forūxtan* (to sell).  
*farīftan* (to deceive, seduce).  
*fašordan* (to squeeze, press).  
*fahmīdan* (to understand, perceive).

*Q*

*qāpīdan* (to snatch, to seize).  
*qabūlāndan* (to accept, to make one accept).

*K*

*kāstan* (to lessen, diminish, decrease, damage, destroy, finish).  
*kāštan* (to cultivate, plough, sow; to disappoint, render hopeless; to turn away, avert).  
*kāvīdan* (to examine, to investigate, search; to dig, excavate; to plough; to dispute, struggle, strain; to mix, disturb; to fight, make war).  
*kardan* (to do, make, perform).  
*koštān* (to kill).  
*kašīdan* (to draw, extract, extend, prolong; to draw lines, to bring, bear, carry, to withdraw; to conquer; to support, to endure; to experience, to induce, to bind; to sew).  
*kaftan* (to split).  
*kafīdan* (to burst, crack; to foam).  
*kandan* (to dig; to pluck, tear up, root out; to skin, peal; to curve, to engrave, to separate; to gather; to flee).  
*kūçīdan* (to migrate).  
*kūftan* (to break, knock, strike, smite, beat, thrash, trample).  
*kūšīdan* (to labour, struggle, strive, endeavour; to dispute; to wander, stray).

*G*

*gāyīdan* (to embrace, copulate).  
*godāxtan* (to melt, dissolve, clean, purify, to be melted).  
*goðāštan* (to quit, leave, forsake, dismiss, discharge, seize, quit away; to allow).

*godaştan* (to pass, outstrip, precede, proceed, advance, ascend, surpass, cross over; to abandon, to pass by a fault; to die).

*gorâzîdan* (to march, walk pompously).

*gerâyîdan* (to have inclination, to love; to examine, prove; to intend; to contend; to attack; to compose; to listen, diminish, to estimate, esteem, think; to involve; to cover; to disobey).

*gardîdan* (to turn, return, change; to be inverted; to go round, walk about; to be surrounded; to embrace, stretch oneself).

*gorixtan* (to run away, to escape, to take refuge, to retire).

*gerîstan* (to weep).

*gereftan* (to take, seize, catch, snatch; to make prisoner, to intercept; to rebuke, to fine; to suppose, admit; to begin; to close up; to undergo an eclipse).

*geravîdan* (to follow, admire, adore; to believe, to obey, to agree, to accept, to form an alliance; to pledge).

*gozârdan* (to pass on a message, to quit; to pay, discharge).

*gazîdan* (to bite, to sting, prick with a needle; to wound, to cut off; to fear).

*gozîdan* (to choose, select).

*gosârdan* (to quit; to drink).

*gostardan* (to expand; to spread; to arrange)

*gosastan* (to break off).

*gaştan* (to turn, return, change, alter, repeat, renew; to become, to be changed, converted; to twist; to go away, to look about).

*goşûdan* (to open).

*gofstan* (to say, speak, call, tell; to compose, to sing).

*gomâştan* (to dismiss, set at liberty, to let alone; to set over, to commit, deliver, assign, entrust, commission, prefix, pursue, prosecute).

*gonjîdan* (to be contained, to be filled).

*gandîdan* (to sting).

*govârîdañ* (to digest).

*güzîdan* (to break wind).

## L

*larzîdan* (to tremble, shake, shiver).

- layzidān* (to slip, fall).  
*lamidān* (to lounge; to loll; to sit down in a careless posture).  
*londidān* (to boast, to murmur).  
*langidān* (to limp, to roll).  
*lehidān* (to crush).  
*lisidān* (to lick).

*M*

- māsīdān* (to be congealed, or coagulated).  
*mālīdān* (to rub, polish, to smooth, to shampoo; to chafe; to box the ears; to knead, to grind; to annoint; to thrust, to resemble, to plough; to throw).  
*māndān* (to be superfluous; to be fatigued, to relinquish; to remain, to resemble, to adapt).  
*mordan* (to die).  
*makidān* (to suck).  
*mūlidān* (to hestiate, to delay, to be languid; to loathe, to be tired; to slide, to arm; to adorn, to deplore; to turn back).  
*mūyidān* (to weep and cry aloud).

*N*

- nāzīdān* (to coquet, to assume a graceful air; to boast; to indulge; to enjoy; to be in spirits).  
*nālīdān* (to lament, complain).  
*nāmīdān* (to name, nominate, mention, express).  
*neśastan* (to sit down; to inhabit; to remain; to extinguish).  
*nekūhīdān* (to accuse, blame).  
*negāstān* (to paint, embroider, write).  
*nagārīstān* (to watch, to see).  
*nemūdān* (to show, demonstrate, declare; to appear, to seem).  
*navāxtān* (to soothe, caress, to praise; to play upon an instrument, to sing; to strike).  
*navardidān* (to fold, to travel, walk; to remove; to pass by).  
*neveştān* (to write, to fold).  
*nūśidān* (to drink).  
*nehādān* (to place, put; to appoint; to apply, to administer, to build).  
*nehoftān* (to hide, conceal, to abscond).

*neyūśīdan* (to listen; to weep; to hope to, murmur, to seek, to investigate).

*V*

*varzīdan* (to sow a field, to accustom oneself, to cultivate a habit; to boast; to blow; to play, to exercise).

*vazīdan* (to blow as the wind).

*H*

*herāśīdan* (to fear, to dread).

*heśtan* (to dismiss, leave; to hang, suspend, roll round).

*Y*

*yārastan* (to be able, to dare, to tyrannize, to be modest).

*yāzīdan* (to yawn, gape; to embrace, to grow up, to wish).

*yāftan* (to find, to obtain, to meet with, experience).

## APPENDIX II

### Obsolete or Doubtful Verbs

Some of the following verbs have been recorded in the dictionaries with one example only. Others do not carry any example at all. Some of them have been recorded in different ways which seem to be the result of misreading. A few of these verbs actually belong to Pahlavi and have never been used in Persian. A few others mentioned in *Borhān-e Qāte'* and other dictionaries are actually *hozvāresh* words and, therefore, have not been included in this list.

- ābādānīdan (to cause to inhabit, to cultivate, to praise).  
ājārdan (ājārīdan)  
āçārdan (āçārīdan) (to preserve).  
āzhdan (āzdan, āzīdan, āzandan, āzhandan, āzandīdan,  
āzandānīdan, āzdīdan, azdan, ājīdan) (to sew,  
pierce, prick, puncture).  
āsānīdan (to facilitate, to expedite).  
āsaydīdan (asaydīdan, basaydīdan) (to fashion, finish).  
āsīdan (to grind)  
āskūxīdan (aškūzīdad, šokūxīdan) (to slip, slide, fall).  
āsūrdan (āsōrdan, āšozdan) (to mix, mingle, join).  
āγārdan (āγārīdan, aγārdan, aγārīdan, āγārānīdan)  
(to moisten, to mix, to excite).  
āγāštan (āγālestan) (to accumulate)  
āγālīdan (aγālīdan, baryālīdan, barγalānīdan, varγal-  
ānīdan) (to excite, rouse).  
āγūsīdan (āγīštan, āγīsīdan, agūsīdan, āgīšīdan,  
ākūsīdan, ākīsīdan, angūsīdan) (to embrace), etc.  
āfandīdan (afandīdan) (to stir up strife or war).  
ākastan (āgastan, āgaštan) (to tie, bind).  
āgāhīdan (āgāhānīdan) (to inform, advise).  
āganīdan (āγāndan, ākanīdan, ākanīdan, āgīndan,  
angāndan, angānīdan, angāndan, angīdan) (to  
stuff, fill, cram).  
āmārdan (āmārīdan) (to count, compute).  
āmāsīdaŋ (āmāsānīdan, āmāhīdan) (to swell, become  
inflated).  
āvarīdan (avārīāan, vārīdan, navārīdan, fārīdan) (to

swallow, to eat, to digest).

*afälidän* (*fatäräidan*, *fatälidän*, *fätardan*, *fatlidän*) (to tear up, split).

*afsäyidün* (*afsäyänidän*, *fasänidän*) (to charm, fascinate, make obedient), etc.

*anbázidän* (*ānbázänidän*) (to become a partner), *onbüdän* (to gather, to put in order).

*anbüsidän* (to appear, to become benumbed, to rot).

*anbüyidän* (*büyidän*) (to smell sweetly).

*anjoxidän* (*anjüxtan*, *anjüxidän*, *anjüridän*, *ānjüftan*) (to become wrinkled).

*anjidän* (*injidan*, *anjanidän*) (to crumble, to vex).

*anjirdän* (to bore a hole, to drill).

*andaxsidi* (to protect, to take refuge).

*alfaxtan* (*alsaydan*, *alfäxtan*, *alγanjidän*, *alyandan*, *alfanjidän*, *alfandan*, *alfandidän*, *alfidän*, *balfuxtan*, *fanjidän*, *anfaxtan*?) (to collect, amass, gain).

*ourandidän* (to deceive).

*ousär dan* (*ousänidän*)

## B

*bäsidi* (to be, to remain, to dwell).

*bavaridän* (to believe).

*bähakidän* (*pähakidän*) (to put to the rack, to torture).

*hajxizidän* (*baxçırıdan*, *baxçızidän*, *naxçızidän*, *naxjizidän*) (to roll down from a height).

*baxsidi* (*baxsänidän*) (to cause to melt, to inflict pain), etc.

*bardidän* (to retire, withdraw).

*bereştan* (to fry, roast).

*barmäsi* (*barmaśidän*, *parmäsiidän*, *parväsidi*) (to feel, touch, rub).

*barmaxidän* (*parmaxidän*) (to be disobedient).

*besäyidän*,

*beşkalidän* (*peşkalidän*) (to scratch, to tear, to enlarge).

*başlidän* (to hang, to adhere, to stick).

*beşanjidän* (*peşanjidän*) (to sprinkle).

*biväzidän* (*pivärändan*) (to answer, to grant a request).

*beyüsidi* (*pe)üsidi*, *peylidän*) (to hope, to flatter).

## P

*pāsīdan* (*bāsīdan*) (to guard, keep watch).

*pākīdan* (to purify).

*pāyestān* (*pānīdan*, *pāyīdan*) (to stand firm, to trample upon).

*paxsīdan* (*paxsānīdan*, *paxsāyīdan*, *paxsānīdan*, *paxsāyīdan*) (to walk pompously).

*paxsūdan* (*paxsīdan*, *paxçūdan*, *paxçīdan*) (to beat, trample on).

*partābīdan* (to throw).

*parhūdan* (*barhūdan*) (to burn, scratch, to be discoloured by exposure to the heat).

*parhīxtan* (*barhextan*, *barhīxtan*, *parhextan*, *farhīxtan*, *farhextan*, *farhanjīdan*, *farhīzīdan*, *farāhīxtan*, *farāhextan*) (to draw forth, to educate, to teach).

*parhīzīdan* (to restrain oneself).

*parīshīdan* (*parīshānīdan*, *parāshīdan*, *beparīshīdan*, *parīshīdan*) (to disperse, to lose one's senses, to be distracted).

*pezhūlīdan* (*pezhūlāndan*, *pezhūlānīdan*) (to search, inquire, to wither, to be scattered, disturbed), etc.

*pasiçīdan* (to arm; to prepare for).

*pīxtan* (a dialectal form of *pīçīdan*), (to twist, fold),

## T

*tāsīdan* (*tāsānīdan*, *tāsāyānīdan*) (to be sad or afflicted).

*tabāhīdan* (*tabāhānīdan*) (to rot, corrupt, spoil).

*taxsīdan* (to sit on the high seat, to try).

*toranjīdan* (*tanjīdan*) (to become squeezed, compressed, to shrivel, wrinkle).

*tafsīdan* (*tablīsīdan*, *tabīsīdan*, *tafsāndan*, *tafsānīdan*) (to grow warm, to be fainting in sultry weather).

*tūxtan* (*tūzīdan*), (to pay a debt, to return, to see).

*tūfīdan* (*nūfīdan*) (to cry aloud, to roar).

*tondīdan* (to thunder, to mutter, to be in a rage).

## J

*jaxsīdan* (*jaxsīdan*) (to be wrinkled, shrivelled; to labour hard), etc.

## C

*çävîdan* (*jävîdan*) (to scream (as birds); to masticate).  
*çaxîdan* (*çayîdan*, *çûxîdan*) (to strive, to endeavour  
 to contend)  
*çayrîdan* (*çaγzîdan*, *çaγzânîdan*) (to fear, to suspect).  
*çastan* (*jaſtan*, *jaſtîdan*) (to bend, to incline).

## X

*xarjîdan* (*xarçîdan*) (to have watering eyes, to shed  
 tears).  
*xûsîdan* (*xorsîdan*, *xûsîdan*, *xûşânîdan*) (to dry up, to  
 shrivel, to collect).

## D

*darâyîdan* (to speak, to call).  
*dandîdan* (to mutter in anger).  
*danîdan* (to walk pompously).

## R

*razîdan* (to dye, colour, stain).  
*roštan* (to dye, colour).  
*rûzhîdan* (*rûzîdan*, *rûzandan*) (to increase, to ooze, to  
 sweat out).

## Z

*zaxîdan* (to cry).  
*zenjîdan* (to stick)  
*zibîdan* (*zeyîdan*) (to adorn, to become).  
*zhärîdan* (to groan, cry).  
*zhafîdan* (to be moistened).  
*zhakîdan* (*rakîdan*, *ragîdan*, *zakîdan*) (to mutter in  
 rage).

## S

*seporîdan* (*sepordan*, *separânîdan*) (to finish, fold).  
*sotûhîdan* (*sotûhânîdan*) (to loathe to shun, to vex;  
 to render weak).  
*setihîdan* (*estehdan*, *estehîdau*, *sehtîdan*) (to contend,  
 to warble, to rebel).  
*soxtan* (*soxtîdan*, *sanjîdan*) (to weigh).  
*sekanjîdan* (*sekanjânîdan*) (to cough, to bite to  
 scrape),  
*sekizîdan* (to gallop, to be obstinate).

*sūgīdan* (*sūlīdan*) (to weep, to mourn).

*sahmīdan* (to fear).

*sījīdan* (*sīcīdan*, *sanjīdan*) (to prepare, equip, to weigh).

## S

*śārīdan* (*śarānīdan*, *śarīdan*) (to flow (as rivers), to pour).

*śāfīdan* (to trip, to slip, to stumble).

*śāndan* (*śānīdan*, *śāyānīdan*) (to comb, to mark).

*śepūxtan* (*śepīxtan*, *eśpūxtan*, *eśpīxtan*) (to give a shock, to sprinkle).

*śajāyīdau* (*sajīdan*, *sajānīdan*, *sajāyīdan*, *śajāuīdan*, *śajāyīdān*, *śajūdan*, *śajīdan*) (to expose to cold, to freeze, to chill).

*śaxśīdan* (*śaxśānīdan*, *śaxīdau*) (to stumble, to fall down).

*śaxūdan* (*śaxūdīdan*, *beśxāīdan*, *beśxūdan*, *śaxārīdan*, *śaxālīdan*, *śaxānīdan*, *śaxāyīdan*, *śūxūdan*, *śanjūdān*, *śanjīdan*) (to scratch with nails, to vex; to assemble) etc.

*śaxūlidan* (*śaxlīdan*, *saxūlānīdan*, *śaxūnīdan*, *śaxīlīdan*) (to cry out, to grow, to whistle, to thunder), etc.

*śarmīdan* (*śarmānīdan*) (to be ashamed, to blush.)

*śafelīdau* (*śapīlidān*, *śapelīdan*, *śafilīdan*, *safelīdān*) (to squeeze, to play the mad man, to whistle).

*śekardan* (*eś'karīdan*, *beśkarīdan*, *śekārīdan*, *śekardīdan*, *śekarīdan*; (to hunt, to catch, to rout).

*śokūhīdan* (to be grave, venerable).

*śekūhīdan* (*śekahānīdan*, *śekahīdan*) (to fear, to be terror-struck, agitated).

*śamīdan* (*samīdan*, *śamānīdan*) (to be confounded, to smell).

*śūlīdan* (*beśpūlidān*, *beśūlānīdan*, *beśūlidān*, *vozhūlīdan*, *fozhūlīdan*) (to be distracted, undetermined,) etc.

*śūmīzīdan* (to till the ground).

*śeyārīdan* (*šeypārānīdan*) (to plough, to sow).

## T

*tavāfidan* (to go round (as of a holy place), to visit).

*tarzāzīdan* (*tarāzīdan*, *tarzīdan*) (to embroider, to sing).

## γ

*γoronbîdan* (to thunder, to roar).

*γarivîdan* (*γarvîdan*) (to thunder, to exclaim).

*γazîdan* (*γazhîdan*, *γîzhîdan*, *γizhândan*) (to accumulate, to pick, gather to crawl) etc.

*γamîdan* (to grieve, to be sad).

## F

*fârandîdan* (to shovel away).

*fâzhîdan* (to yawn, gape).

*fahmîdan* (*farxamîdan*, *salxamîdan*, *salxûdan*, *salxi-*  
*dan*, *fâxîdau*, *maxmîdan*, *vâxîdan*, *baxîdan*) (to beat, to card, to pull, to pluck).

*farâmûsîdan* (*farâmûşânîdan*, *farmûşîdan*) (to forget.)

*farjâmidan* (to end)

*farkandan* (*farkandîdan*) (to dig a canal and to bring water into fields and gardens).

*farûhidan* (to abandon, throw away).

*fasânîdan* (to rule, to tame).

*fosûsîdan* (to sigh after, to grieve for).

*fonûdan* (to deceive, to desist), etc.

*fûzîdan* (to yawn).

*fîridan* (to swagger, to walk pompously), etc.

## Q

*qandîdan*

## K

*kâγîdan* (to chew the cud).

*kâftan* (*kâvîdan*) (to split, to dig, to examine).

*kâlîdan* (to be routed, to defeat), etc.

*kâmîdan* (to desire, wish).

*kîbîdan* (to twist, to turn).

## G

*gâlkîdan* (excrete).

*gâmîdan* (to go, walk, step).

*gozîrdan* (*kozerdan*, *gorezdan*, *gorzîdan*, *gozerdan*)  
(to help, to apply a remedy).

*gomârîdan* (to gnash the teeth in indignation).

*gomânîdan* (to think, imagine).

*gemîzîdan* (*kemîzânîdan*, *kemîzîdan*, *gemîxtan*, *gemî-*  
*zânîdan*, *mîxtan*, *mîzîdan*) (to make water, piss).

*gavāzhūdan* (to scold, to rebuke).

*gorājīdan* (to creep (as an infant), to grow up).

*gouharūdan* (*kouharūdan*, *gohūlidan*) (to exchange, barter).

### I.

*lāshīdan* (to strew, to shake, to scatter).

*lāndan* (*lānīdan*) (to move, to shake, to scatter, to stagger), etc.

*lāyīdan* (*lāfīdan*, *lāvidan*, *labīdan*, *lābīdan*, *lapīdan*) (to talk, to complain, to boast), etc,

*laxsīdan* (to slide).

*lanjīdan*, (*melanjīdan*) (to eradicate, to chide to mock)

*lūryīdan* (*lūryānīdan*) (to milk, to spill).

### M

*maxīdan* (to tremble, be moved, to creep).

*moštan* (to rab).

*mangīdan* (*bemangīdan*, *bemangīdan*, *motkīdan*) (to mutter, to murmur).

*nārīdan* (*nārvānīdan*) (to hollow a stone or wood, to sleep), etc.

*neθārīdan* (*neśārīdan*) (to scatter).

*našīdan* (to hang up, to suspend).

*nafrīdan* (*nafrīnīdan*) (to execrate, curse).

*negāhīdan* (to gaze at, to deposit).

*negāndan* (to quilt, to sew in an ornamental way).

*namīdan* (to grow moist, to incline).

*navīdan* (*navāyīdan*, *navālīdan*, *navānīdan*, *nūyīdan*, *anūyīdan*) (to sleep, to shake, to lament), etc.

*nahārīdan* (to breakfast, to waste, decay, to be trifled).

*nehāzīdan* (*nehādīdan*, *nehāvīdan*) (to dread, to fear).

### V

*vaštan* (*vašīdan*) (to dance).

*vaškardan* (*vaškardīdan*, *vaškarīdan*, *vaškalīdan*, *vaškūlīdan*, *vašgardīdan*, *vašgarīdan* *vašgūlīdan*, *baškūlīdan*) (to labour diligently, to execute with expedition).

*vayastan* (to make evident, clear).

### Y

*yāštan* (to pray in a low murmuring tone, to beg, to supplicate).

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